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Motilal Nehru in his study in Anand Bhawan

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SELECTED WORKS OF MOTILAL NEHRU

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Volume One
(1899-1918)

Edited by

RAVINDER KUMAR and D.N. PANIGRAHI

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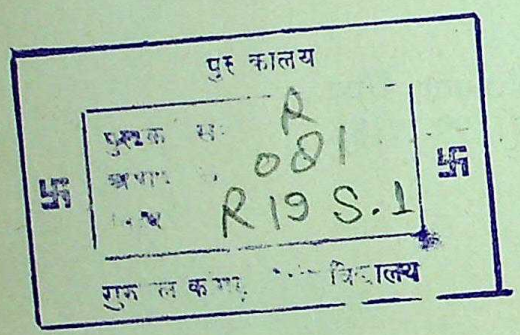

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PREFACE

It gives us great pleasure to present the first volume of *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru.* The core of this volume consists of the letters written by Motilal Nehru to his son, Jawaharlal Nehru, in the first decade of the present century. These letters are not only of great historical interest but they also provide us with vivid insights into Motilal Nehru's multi-faceted personality. Besides the letters, we have also included in the volume the speeches given by Motilal Nehru on various occasions; before important social and political conferences; or in the Provincial Legislature of the former United Provinces (contemporary Uttar Pradesh).

The present volume covers the years 1899-1918. To the best of our knowledge, the writings and speeches of Motilal Nehru before 1899 are not available anywhere. We have concluded this volume with the year 1918, which saw the end of the First World War, and also marked a turning point in the political career of Motilal Nehru.

We are much beholden to the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, for her graciousness in permitting us to draw upon the Motilal Nehru Papers in preparing this volume. These papers have been deposited with the Archives of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. We have also consulted the National Archives of India, the U.P. State Archives, the records of the All India Congress Committee, the Proceedings of the U.P. Legislative Council, and a variety of contemporary sources, like newspapers and learned periodicals, in preparing this volume.

The decision to publish the selected writings and speeches of Motilal Nehru was taken when Shri B.R. Nanda was Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. We are obliged to him for his guidance during the initial stages of this undertaking. A number of our colleagues have provided us with valuable assistance at various stages of our editorial task. Among these colleagues, Shri B.M. Tandan (now with the Trade Fair Authority of India), Dr. S.R. Bakshi, Smt. Indrani Henderson, Dr. H.D. Sharma, Shri S.R. Mahajan, Smt. V. Gulati and Kumari C.V. Usha deserve special mention. The members of our library staff also extended much useful assistance to us during the course of our work.

May 3, 1982

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D.N. PANIGRAHI

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*INTRODUCTION**

Motilal Nehru: Portrait of a Nationalist

There are individuals cast in a truly heroic mould whose lives mirror the historical experiences of a generation as a whole. Motilal Nehru was one such outstanding individual. He was born at a time when the British Empire was at the height of its power and glory in India. He grew up in a social, political and intellectual milieu which was very largely the creation of the British Raj. But despite the distinction which he achieved in his chosen vocation of law, he was drawn towards a stance of militant nationalism, which led him to reject British rule over India as something unworthy of a proud and ancient country. What prompted Motilal Nehru to exchange a life of privilege, as a successful lawyer, for a life of sacrifice, as a distinguished participant in the struggle for India's freedom? To what extent was this transformation due to the exploitative character of the British Raj? To what extent, equally, was it a result of Motilal's changing perception of British rule over India? In presenting the *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru* to those who possess a scholarly interest in our struggle for freedom, we seek to answer some of these questions concerning the life and times of one of the most distinguished figures of the age of nationalism in modern India.

Any enquiry into the origin of the Nehrus can draw upon a very rich body of historical literature. But perhaps our most reliable guide would be Jawaharlal Nehru himself. "We were Kashmiris," he points out in his *Autobiography*. "Over two hundred years ago, early in the eighteenth century, our ancestor came down from that mountain valley to seek fame and fortune in the rich plains below. . . . Raj Kaul was the name of that ancestor of ours, and he had gained eminence as a Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of Farrukhsiar during the latter's visit to Kashmir, and, probably at the Emperor's instance, the family migrated to Delhi, the imperial capital, about the year 1716. A *jagir* with a house situated on the banks of a canal had been granted to Raj Kaul, and, from the fact of this residence, 'Nehru' (from *Nahar*, a canal) came to be attached to his name. Kaul had been the family name; this changed to Kaul-Nehru; and, in later years, Kaul dropped out and we became simply Nehrus."[1]

The descendants of the scholarly Raj Kaul led relatively uneventful lives in an age which witnessed a political development of outstanding significance, namely, the decline of Mughal imperial authority over north India. Yet the Kaul-Nehrus, too, were not unaffected by the declining fortunes of their imperial patrons, and we have reason to believe that the *jagir* which had sustained the family earlier suffered a diminution in value

*I am deeply obliged to my colleague, Dr Hari Dev Sharma, for going through an earlier draft of this Introduction and suggesting a number of stylistic and substantive changes in the text.

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (London, 1936), p. 1.

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over the years. The male members of the family, therefore, turned to professional employment to sustain themselves and their dependents. Motilal Nehru's grand-father, Lakshmi Narayan Nehru, accepted the office of a vakil with the East India Company at Delhi, and his son, Gangadhar Nehru, held the position of kotwal of Delhi, when the Uprising of 1857 erupted with a tragic intensity that was to play havoc with the lives of thousands of men and women in the erstwhile imperial capital.

What the events of 1857, particularly the sack of Delhi by the British in the month of September, meant to the citizens of the former capital of the Mughals, has been graphically described by the distinguished poet, Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib, in his memoirs. When the British entered the city, Ghalib states in this account, "they killed the helpless and weak and they burnt the houses. . . . Seeing their anger and fury the townpeople turned pale (with fear and horror). Hordes of men and women, commoners and noblemen, passed out of Delhi from the three gates and took shelter . . . outside the city. There they remained, hoping, at a later time, either to return to Delhi, or to move to another town."[2]

Among those who quit the city of Delhi in 1857 was Gangadhar Nehru, then barely thirty years of age. The Nehrus, like hundreds of other respectable families of the erstwhile capital, had lost all their belongings in the course of the sack. Homeless, jobless and bereft of all earthly possessions, Gangadhar trekked with his wife, Indrani, his two sons, Bansidhar and Nandlal, and his two daughters, Patrani and Maharani, to the city of Agra. Here he sought to restore the fortunes of his family. But fate willed otherwise. Gangadhar passed away in February 1861 at the relatively young age of thirty-four. Three months later, on 6 May 1861, his widow gave birth posthumously to a third son, Motilal. The widow, Indrani, according to a family tradition, was a woman of great courage and will power. In this hour of adversity, deprived of the loving care of her husband, she probably needed all her resources of courage to ensure that the family under her charge was able to re-establish itself in a style of life appropriate to its status and dignity.

Fortunately for Indrani, her two elder sons, Bansidhar and Nandlal, although in their teens, were able to extend invaluable support to their mother in managing the affairs of the family. Bansidhar, the eldest, sought employment in the judiciary, and rose to a position of considerable eminence in the vocation of his choosing. Nandlal, the younger, first taught in a school for some time, and then went to the princely State of Khetri in Rajasthan, in the capacity of Dewan. After some time at Khetri, Nandlal returned to Agra, and set himself up as a lawyer in the *Sadr-Diwani-Adalat*. When the *Sadr-Diwani-Adalat* was transferred to Allahabad, where it was soon renamed the High Court of the North-Western Provinces, Nandlal moved to this city. In the absence of a father, it was Nandlal who really brought up Motilal. And between the

[2]Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib, *Dastanbuy: A Diary of the Indian Revolt of 1857*, trans. by K.A. Faruqi (Bombay, 1971), pp. 40-41.

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two, there "grew up a knot of affection, a happy blend of the filial and the fraternal, of which the Hindu joint family, with all its faults, furnishes probably the best example."[3]

I

The city of Allahabad to which Motilal came as a child, under the care of Nandlal, was the newly created capital of the North-Western Provinces (contemporary Uttar Pradesh),[4] and an important centre of political, social and economic life in the region. Motilal was a spirited child, of lively temperament and of incisive intelligence, who also possessed a firm will of his own. All these qualities combined to make a most favourable impression on those who came into contact with him. That the young Motilal grew up in Allahabad was a fact of very considerable significance, since this city provided the setting in which he could realise to the full his potential, first in the profession of his choice and next, as a distinguished soldier in the cause of India's freedom. It is to the examination of the distinctive social and political milieu of Allahabad, and indeed, of the North-Western Provinces as a whole, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that we shall next turn briefly, before we resume once again our examination of Motilal's life and achievements.

The great cities and the rural districts of the North-Western Provinces, which provided the setting for Motilal's career, also constituted the stage for a remarkable experiment in colonial politics by the British Government of India. To appreciate the full implications of this experiment in colonial politics, as we have called it, we shall recapitulate briefly the structure of politics and society in the region under consideration prior to the establishment of British rule. Before the British advent, the territories which went into the making of the North-Western Provinces, were controlled by a number of successor States to the Mughal Empire, of which the most prominent State was that of Avadh. The ruling class in this successor State—the land owning aristocracy of Muslim elites as well as of superior Hindu castes like Rajputs and Brahmans (particularly the former)—drew its political legitimacy from the court of Lucknow, and partook of a rich and composite Hindu-Muslim culture, which was reflected in life styles, in courtly etiquette, in secular and religious architecture, and last but not the least, in literature and in the arts. Further, this ruling class in turn rested upon small principalities of very considerable antiquity, controlled by Rajput chiefs, who were also the heads of powerful clans. The individual members of these clans were distributed over entire rural districts in the capacity of petite zamindars, and partook of a traditional culture which gave to the North-Western Provinces, particularly to the eastern districts, their reputation for being the great heartland of Hindu culture.

When the British first established themselves in the North-Western

[3]B.R. Nanda, "Motilal Nehru" in B.R. Nanda, *Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus: Studies in Indian Nationalism* (London, 1974), p. 86.

[4]The North-Western Provinces became the United Provinces in 1901, and Uttar Pradesh after India became independent.

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Provinces, they pursued a policy of stripping the aristocratic classes of their 'proprietal' rights over the land, and bestowed these rights on a petite zamindari class in the villages, in the hope that the latter would become ardent supporters of the *Pax Britannica*. But the Uprising of 1857 shattered British hopes of buying the loyalty of the petite zamindari class in the villages through such a policy. Instead, in the rural districts of Avadh and the neighbourhood, both the dispossessed landed aristocracy, and the recently enfranchised petite zamindars in the villages, who were often linked to the former through bonds of kinship, rose in a mighty movement of armed revolt against the British Raj. We can gain some idea of the depth, and the intensity, of the uprising in these regions fro .. the fact that it took the British Government more than a year after the fall of the centres of urban resistance, like Lucknow and Kanpur, to suppress the resistance of the landed aristocracy and the petite zamindars.

The British drew several important conclusions from their experience of the Uprising of 1857 in Avadh and in the North-Western Provinces. First and foremost, they rejected the policy of dispossessing the landed aristocracy—the Talukdars, to give them their proper name—and reinstated them in their former estates, as the instruments of British rule over the region. The Talukdars were henceforth looked upon as "the natural leaders of the people"; and British administrators regarded them as the great bastions of stability and order in rural society. Indeed, they further regarded the Talukdars as the instruments of economic progress and social prosperity in the region. The Talukdars, as a class, thus became the lynch-pin of British policy in the region, and they acquired a very central position in the imperial scheme of things. "Where else . . . in India [an ecstatic British supporter of the regime asked in 1906] can be found more true happiness and ease under British rule, more solid progress, more unquestioning loyalty? Where such smooth relations between the rulers and the ruled, between the party of order and the party of change? Where a better measure of agrarian peace? Where a more effective combination of old sanctions and young aspiration?"[5]

To accord a central place to the landed aristocracy in reconstructing the fabric of society in Avadh and in the North-Western Provinces, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, is not to overlook seminal developments elsewhere in the region. Indeed, the cities of the region, Lucknow, Agra, Kanpur, Varanasi, and most important of all for our purposes, Allahabad, too, were the setting for crucial developments in the period under review. And we shall now reflect briefly upon social changes in these urban centres.

Allahabad, as the seat of the provincial government since 1858, and the High Court since 1866, witnessed a remarkable expansion of its social, political and economic horizons in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For over and above its importance as an administrative and judicial centre, the city was also the base of substantial Khatri and Bania magnates,

[5]Sir Harcourt Butler, quoted in D.A. Low (ed.), *Soundings in Modern South Asian History* (Berkeley, 1968), p. 8.

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who were money-lenders, businessmen, and landlords rolled into one, and whose predominant position in the city—a position underpinned by their designation as *raises*, or urban notables—was reflected as much in the world of high finance and business, as it was reflected in their patronage of religious and cultural activities, and in their dominance over local politics and civic affairs. Indeed, it was these *raises* or urban notables, with their roots in the city, rather than the land-owners of the rural districts, who constituted the most influential section of Indian society in Allahabad.

A class of growing significance in Allahabad was the professional class, whose members were attached to the institutions of administration and the judiciary, as well as to the schools and colleges in the city. This class was largely recruited from the service communities—*prabasi* Bengalis, or Muslim elites, or Kayasths, or local or emigre Brahmans—whose members constituted an intelligentsia that had traditionally found employment in the administrative institutions of revenue, police or justice. In a situation where important positions in the bureaucracy were monopolised by British members of the Civil Service, the legal profession offered a very good opportunity for advancement to able and ambitious young men of the traditional service communities. Initially, the Allahabad Bar had been dominated by British barristers, who were admitted as advocates of the High Court. But by 1877, a second tier of lawyers, called pleaders or vakils, had organised themselves into a vakils' association, and many young men drawn from the service communities were able to carve out a niche for themselves at this level of the legal profession. The volume of litigation was rising sharply in the period under consideration, owing to the new property relations which the British Government had established after 1857, and there was a great flow of legal briefs from the rural districts to the courts in the city. Here, although competition was fierce, was an avenue for advancement open to young men of ability and enterprise; an avenue, moreover, through which such men could acquire substantial fortunes at the same time as they established themselves in the public life of the city, and indeed, of the province.

II

Motilal commenced his schooling at Khetri, where he resided as a ward of his elder brother, Nandlal. His first teacher was Kazi Sadruddin, an oriental scholar attached to the princely court of Khetri, from whom he acquired a proficiency in Persian that was to stand him in good stead later in life. Thereafter, he moved to Kanpur, to his eldest brother, Bansidhar, and completed his preliminary education at a local high school. On passing the Matriculation Examination, he sought admission to the Muir Central College at Allahabad.

The Muir College of Allahabad, where Motilal sought admission for higher education, was the premier educational institution in India, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, outside the presidency cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The College had been established in

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1873, on the initiative of Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant Governor, and some of the leading citizens of Avadh and the North-Western Provinces. The objectives which inspired the establishment of this institution of higher learning were eloquently summed up by Sir Arthur Lyall, a successor of Muir, on a later occasion. "The College commemorates," Sir Arthur observed, "the firm, earnest, and statesman like trust placed by Sir William Muir and other leading personages—the principal chiefs and the most enlightened representatives of different classes in our society—the trust placed by them in the sure and certain progress and spread of higher education in this part of India; their belief in its great public advantage, and in its promise and potency of future development. And if we may pretend to read a meaning in the style and proportion and design of the architecture of this College, we may say that it foreshadows and anticipates the speedy expansion of higher education under the combined impulses of Eastern and Western ideas and traditions and the advancement of learning to a greater dignity and more imposing position among us."[6] The founders of the Muir College also recruited a very distinguished faculty for the institution, prominent amongst whom were scholars like Augustus Harrison, the Principal; W.H. Wright, the Professor of English Literature; Maulvi Zakaullah, the Professor of Vernacular Literature; and Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya, the Professor of Sanskrit.

Motilal's sojourn at the Muir College, and the opportunity of interaction with scholarly men like Harrison and Wright, exercised a decisive influence over his intellectual development. Already as a child, Motilal had been introduced to the literary and religious heritage of the East, by his teacher at Khetri. His tenure as a student at the Muir College opened up before him, at a very impressionable age, the vast treasure-house of western learning, both speculative and empirical. Motilal was by no stretch of imagination a bookworm. Nor was he given to fanciful flights of imagination. However, his robust intelligence, lively and incisive in equal proportions, imbibed certain English values which were to guide him in his subsequent career, as an outstanding lawyer, as well as a nationalist leader of distinction. He acquired a strong admiration for English culture and institutions; for the principles of liberty and progress which upheld the fabric of society and moulded the minds of men in the late Victorian era; and for the moral rectitude which inspired Englishmen in their private and public life in their own country. Over and above this, Motilal developed a rational attitude towards life, which led him to question, and even to reject some of the outmoded and archaic values and institutions of Hindu society. Yet it needs to be stressed, at this juncture, that despite the admiration which Motilal had acquired for English values, as they were interpreted to him by his mentors at the Muir College, he remained firmly anchored to the rich, composite Hindu-Muslim culture of the North-Western Provinces, which shaped in particular the style of life of the Kashmiri Brahmans who had settled in this region.

[6]Amarnath Jha, "Muir Central College: The Foundations" in *The Allahabad University Magazine*, Vol. LIII, June 1975.

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Without completing his courses of study at the Muir College, Motilal appeared for the vakil's examination, and topping the list of successful candidates, set himself up as a junior under the watchful eye of Prithinath Chak, a very well-established lawyer at Kanpur, who was also a close friend of the Nehru family. However, a district court like the one at Kanpur offered insufficient incentive to young Motilal, who dreamt from the outset of establishing a first rate reputation for himself in the profession. In 1886, therefore, after serving in the district courts at Kanpur for three years, as an understudy of Prithinath Chak, Motilal moved to Allahabad, and set himself up in the legal profession in the city.

The decision to practice law in Allahabad, the seat of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, and the seat also of the High Court, was profound in its implications for Motilal's future. More than any other vocation (as we have already pointed out), the profession of law offered able young men drawn from Indian society an opportunity to make their mark in life. Of course, this is not to sugggest that a fortune and a reputation in the legal profession were easily acquired. Quite the contrary. Precisely because success at the Bar had so much to offer—the stakes were so high—the profession was highly competitive. Already by the 1880s, the primacy of the English barristers at the High Court in Allahabad was being challenged by a number of Indian members of the Bar, drawn from the traditional intelligentsia, or hailing from the landed gentry of the region. Prominent among such men were *prabasi* Bengalis like P.C. and L.M. Banerji; Nagar Brahmans from Gujarat like (later Sir) Sunderlal Dave;[7] Kayasths like Jwala Prasad, Sachchidananda Sinha, and Ram Prasad; and Banias like the scions of the well-known Rai Balmukund family. Also amongst such men was a select group of the Kashmiri Brahmans of whom Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bishambar Nath, and, of course, Motilal Nehru, were the most prominent.

Motilal did not possess the connections that would ensure for him instant success in the legal profession. But in a couple of years, while he was still in his early thirties, he had acquired a practice of Rs. 2,000 a month, a very substantial sum of money in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He was also one of the four outstanding vakils who were raised to the rank of advocates of the Allahabad High Court in 1896; and slightly more than a decade later, in 1909, he received permission to appear before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain, the highest judicial body in the British Empire. Motilal was a civil lawyer; and most of the cases which came his way concerned disputes over property, or succession, within the great talukdari families of Avadh. From what we have stated earlier about the pre-eminent position occupied by the Talukdars in society in the region, it follows that a lawyer like Motilal, who drew his professional work mainly from the aristocracy, was destined to rise to the very top of his profession.

What are the attributes which make for success as a lawyer? In law, as indeed, in other professions, it is difficult to provide a wholly satisfactory

[7]Sir Sunderlal did not normally use his surname Dave.

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answer to such a question. Yet the qualities which went into the making of Motilal's success are not entirely unknown to us. First and foremost, Motilal was endowed with a powerful intellect, incisive and penetrating in equal proportions. Secondly, he possessed a great capacity for sheer hard work, burning much midnight oil over legal tomes, and studying in detail the briefs which came his way in increasing numbers with the passage of time. Further, Motilal had a physical presence which captivated all those who came into contact with him in his professional life. His striking good looks, his graciousness of manner and his aristocratic demeanour, taken in conjunction with the intellectual qualities to which we have already drawn attention, made him one of the most outstanding members of the Allahabad Bar. According to one of his younger contemporaries: "Pandit Motilal was handsome. He dressed fastidiously. He was by no means eloquent, but keen in debate and incisive in argument... when Pandit Motilal was in court and on his legs, the atmosphere seemed surcharged with sunshine".[8] Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who first met him as a colleague in a legal suit, found in him "a lawyer of a very high order..."[9] A colleague in Allahabad, Sachchidananda Sinha, rated him as "one of the greatest.... (advocates) that India has ever produced..."[10] And a Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, an Englishman with little sympathy for Motilal's politics, observed: "He (Motilal) had a profusion of gifts; knowledge came easily to him and as an advocate he had the art of presenting his case in its most attractive form. Every fact fell into proper place... Many of you will remember his handling of the Etawah case... No man at any bar in the world could have done better than Pandit Motilal."[11]

III

At the same time as he established himself as a lawyer of distinction, Motilal was also engaged in laying the foundations of a rich and rewarding family life. In an age when the innocence of childhood gave way to the responsibilities of adult life, without experiencing the carefree phase of youthful freedom, Motilal married in his late teens. His young bride, Swarup Rani, came of a Kashmiri family of Lahore, and she was, in the words of a biographer of the Nehrus, "petite, with a 'dresden china perfection' of complexion and features...."[12] Motilal and his bride were blessed, in the first instance, with a son, who unfortunatly did not survive for long. On the 14th of November, 1889, a second child, also a son, was born to the young couple. He was given the name of Jawaharlal.

The birth of a son in a Hindu household has a very special ritual as well as temporal significance. Since Jawaharlal was also the eldest child in the family, he became the focus of his parents' affection, and the repository

[8]K.N. Katju, quoted in B.R. Nanda, *The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal* (London, 1962), p. 27.
[9]*Pandit Motilal Nehru: A Great Patriot* (New Delhi, 1976), p. 27.
[10]*Ibid.*, p. 50.
[11]*Ibid.*, p. 176.
[12]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 24.

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of their hopes and aspirations for the future of the Nehru family. Between the father and the son, in particular, there came into being a bond of affection which held them together in an especially close relationship. This bond of affection between Motilal and Jawaharlal was characterised by a blend of admiration, esteem and regard on the part of Jawaharlal; and a deeply tempered love, parental and solicitous, on the part of Motilal. Yet in the texture of his personality, no less than in the cast of his features, the young Jawaharlal drew as much upon his mother as he drew upon his father. Particularly did Jawaharlal inherit his sensitive eyes, the eyes of a Hamlet, introspective and soulful, searching and questioning, from the gentle Swarup Rani, who in a quiet and unobstrusive manner, filled the Nehru household with the warm presence of a devoted wife and a loving mother.

Motilal's affection for his family, and his increasing success at the Bar, were vividly reflected in the style of life which he pursued as a distinguished member of the legal profession at Allahabad. As soon as he had established himself in his vocation, Motilal shifted from his residence at Mirganj, in the heart of Allahabad, to a spacious bungalow located at Elgin Road, in the Civil Lines. From Elgin Road, in turn, he moved in 1900 to a palatial residence at Church Road, near Bhardwaj Ashram, not very far from the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna. Anand Bhavan, or the "Abode of Pleasure," as this residence was christened, spoke in unmistakable terms of the success of its master, and the prominent position which he occupied in the city of Allahabad. We have referred earlier to the composite Hindu-Muslim culture which Motilal had inherited as a Kashmiri Brahman. This heritage was enriched, by the progressive adoption in the Nehru household, at the personal initiative of Motilal, of the style of life of the upper classes in England.

It was a most gracious way of life, elegant and cultivated, and it involved much party-going and entertainment. A contemporary picture of Motilal, at the steering wheel of his car, with some members of his family by his side, a smartly turned out domestic servant standing beside the car, has so distinctly Edwardian a flavour, that it might well have been taken in a countrytown in England in the first decade of the twentieth century. Yet in Motilal, the adoption of a western style of life coexisted with a great love for things Indian, particularly of the poetry and the literature of the country. Moreover, Swarup Rani provided the Nehru household an anchorage with the traditions of Hindusim, that secured for young and old alike, a deep and enduring relationship with a culture of great antiquity and sophistication. This anchorage, needless to say, conferred a rare poise and dignity upon the various members of Motilal's family.

The diverse cultural influences which Motilal drew into his domestic world, as a matter of deliberate choice, are reflected most clearly of all in the education of Jawaharlal, who was the focus of his hopes and his aspirations for the future. In his *Autobiography* Jawaharlal speaks of the "stories from the old Hindu mythology, from the epics . . . that my mother and aunt used to tell us. My aunt. . . was learned in the old Indian books and had an inexhaustible supply of these tales, and my knowledge of

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Indian mythology and folklore became quite considerable."[13] At a more formal level, Motilal requested the great oriental scholar, Pandit Ganganath Jha, to teach his son Sanskrit. Besides, two English governesses were engaged in succession to instruct Jawaharlal in English and in the rudiments of arithmetic; and they were followed by the appointment, in the capacity of a tutor, of an Irish-French theosophist, F.T. Brooks, who apart from inculcating in the mind of his ward an interest in theosophy, introduced him to English poetry and literature, and also to the sciences. Finally, in 1905, Motilal secured admission for Jawaharlal at Harrow, in the belief that the liberal education given at such a prestigious public school would adequately equip him for a career of distinction in his life.

It is likely that the decision to provide Jawaharlal with an English education was taken by Motilal during the course of his first visit to Great Britain in 1899. The ostensible reason which took Motilal to Great Britain was a dispute between the Raja of Khetri, whom his late brother Nandlal had served as Dewan, and the ruler of Jaipur. He arrived in London armed with introductions from the Raja of Khetri, and apart from attending to the business which had brought him to this great metropolis, he was also able to "(make) some friends among the nobility and society of England. . ."[14] Among those Motilal saw in London was Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree, an Indian M.P.; Sir W. Lee-Warner, a Member of the India Council and Sir G. Seymor-Fitzgerald. With the Boer War in progress, affairs in India interested few apart from old India hands like Lee-Warner. But the orderliness of life in the premier city of the British Empire; a first-hand experience of British society and its institutions; and a personal exchange of views, on men and affairs, with some distinguished individuals in Great Britain, heightened the admiration which Motilal already possessed for things English. All this must also have impressed upon him the desirability of providing his son with an education in a public school, and later in a British university, that would enable him to make his mark in life.

On his return from Great Britain, Motilal confronted a situation which throws a flood of illuminating light upon contemporary society in India. This situation also illumines Motilal's position in the Kashmiri community, and the strength of his liberal commitments. For a citizen of India in the late nineteenth century, a journey to Great Britain was a momentous undertaking. Only men well-placed in society, men of considerable means, could undertake this journey. Such a journey could also be expected to be an enlightening experience, even for an individual not as well equipped as Motilal to appreciate the novel intellectual and political culture to which he was likely to be exposed. Above all, a journey to Great Britain was also a declaration of faith in a liberal way of life, if only for the reason that travel beyond the frontiers of the country was regarded as polluting, and brought down upon the head of an individual who embarked

[13] *An Autobiography*, p. 8.
[14] Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 39.

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upon such a venture, the serious disapproval of the conservative elements in society.

To the widespread belief in Hindu society that travel overseas was polluting, the Kashmiri community of Allahabad was no exception. Even before Motilal's journey to the West, the visit to Great Britain of a Kashmiri lawyer, Bishen Narayan Dar, had split the community into two warring factions. Motilal had as a matter of course thrown his support in favour of the liberal camp. On his return from Great Britain, Motilal, too, faced ostracism at the hands of the orthodox section of the Kashmiri community. But he stood firm as a rock, refusing to perform the purificatory ceremonies through which more pliable men, who had violated orthodox sentiment by travelling overseas, bought peace. "My mind is fully made up," Motilal wrote in righteous indignation to Prithinath Chak. "I will not (come what may) indulge in the tomfoolery of *Praschit*. No, not even if I die for it. I have been provoked and have been dragged from my seclusion into public life. But my enemies will find me a hard nut to crack. I know what your *biradari* (caste) is and if necessary, in self-defence, I will ruthlessly and mercilessly lay bare the tattered fabric of its existence and tear it into the minutest possible shreds."[15]

Motilal's first visit to Great Britain in 1899, and his second visit in 1900, were in the nature of exploratory tours. He was now at the very height of his professional career, as highly respected for his legal acumen as he was respected for his wide culture and his warm hospitality. A leading citizen of Allahabad, he could count as his friends all those who mattered in the capital city of the United Provinces. Indeed, even the British *herrenvolk* of the civil service acknowledged his outstanding stature: and men of the distinction of Sir Harcourt Butler, later the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, and Sir John Edge, the Chief Justice of the High Court at Allahabad, maintained cordial social relations with him. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Motilal, in his early forties, had travelled very far, indeed, from a young lawyer who arrived in Allahabad less than two decades ago, full of promise and ambition, yet with little by way of inherited wealth, or the connections, that usually went into the making of a successful legal career.

In 1905 Motilal travelled for the third time to Great Britain. This time he was accompanied, as became a successful man of the world, by his wife and his son, as well as by his four year old daughter, Sarup. The journey was partly a vacation, a much needed break from the stresses and strains of a busy professional life in Allahabad. But it was also undertaken to secure admission for Jawaharlal in a suitable school in Great Britain. A diary Motilal maintained during his travels reveals how welcome was the vacation after the uninterrupted labour of four years. After making arrangements for Jawaharlal to stay in London, and prepare for the entrance examinations at Harrow, he travelled to the health resorts of Europe, in order to make the most of the brief moments of leisure available to him.

[15]*Motilal Nehru Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library* (hereinafter referred to as *MN Papers*): Motilal to Prithinath Chak, dated 22 December, 1899.

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In September 1905, Motilal returned to London, and completed the formalities for the admission of his son to Harrow. Yet the moment for parting from Jawaharlal, now sixteen years old, was a sorrowful one. It was with a heavy heart that Motilal wrote a poignant letter to his only son, whom he was leaving behind in an alien land: "You must bear in mind that in you we are leaving the dearest treasure we have in this world, and perhaps in other worlds. We are suffering the pangs of separation for you simply for your own good . . . it is simply a question of making a real man of you. . . ."[16]

IV

Motilal's ascent to a position of preeminence in the Allahabad Bar was achieved in the context of the quickening pulse of politics in the country. Although the quick flow of briefs, and the hectic pace of his professional life, left Motilal little time or leisure for politics, these developments could not but affect his appreciation of British rule over India. Indeed, the rising tempo of political activity in India, in itself a consequence of the sharpening political consciousness of different classes and communities, was to draw Motilal into the very vortex of public life, transforming in the process the distinguished lawyer into a valiant soldier in the cause of India's freedom.

The biographers of Motilal have probably erred in assuming that his involvement in public life can be attributed entriely to developments in politics at the national level. The facts in this regard are a matter of common knowledge. We know, for instance, that when the Indian National Congress met at Allahabad in 1888, among the delegates present at the session was 'Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hindu, Brahman, Vakil, High Court, N.W.P.' Next year, in 1889, Motilal was elected to the Subjects Committee of the Congress. He featured again on the Subjects Committee at Nagpur in 1891. And when the Indian National Congress met at Allahabad for the second time, in 1892, Motilal, by now a prominent member of the local Bar, was the Secretary of the Reception Committee. Yet in the next decade, Motilal did not figure in the list of delegates at the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. Why? "These were the years when he was forging his way to the top of the Bar, and hardly had the time or the inclination to stray into the bye-ways of politics. Nor was the political atmosphere electric enough to evoke a response in him," states one of his biographers. Yet to explain Motilal's entry into national politics, simply in terms of attendance of the annual sessions of the Congress, is to completely overlook the local political milieu of Allahabad, which played so important a part in shaping his awareness, on the one hand, of the growing aspirations of the people of India, and on the other, of the strategic and tactical objectives of British imperialism. This milieu has been portrayed with rare sensitivity in a recent scholarly study.[17] The

[16] *Jawaharlal Nehru Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library* (hereinafter referred to as *JN Papers*: Motilal to Jawaharlal, dated 19 October, 1905.

[17] C.A. Bayly, *The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad 1880-1920* (Oxford, 1975).

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crystallisation of communal identities in the region; the establishment of the institutions of local self-government; the creation of centres of higher education, through official or through denominational initiatives; the activities of local agitators, patronised by men of wealth and standing in the community, who sought to create in the minds of the people a new consciousness of their cultural and religious heritage; all these developments contributed to radically altering the political climate of the city of Allahabad, and, indeed, of the region as a whole, during the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

This is not to suggest that the activation of local and regional politics in Allahabad, led the men who mattered in the city—the *raises* or urban notables; the substantial men of business and finance; and the leaders of the professional classes—into a collision course with the British rulers. True, the efforts of local agitators, plus the climate of competitive politics conjured into existence through the establishment of civic institutions, resting partly upon electoral principles, created an altogether new milieu in the capital of the North-Western Provinces. But the policies adopted by the Provincial Government, particularly during the tenure of Sir Antony Macdonnell as Lieutenant Governor, were astutely designed to establish a working alliance between the prominent men of the city and the region, on the one hand, and the British *imperium*, on the other.

The conciliatory face of the British Raj in the politics of the North-Western Provinces, and of the city of Allahabad, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, went a long way towards reinforcing the favourable view which Motilal entertained of British political institutions and British social values as a young man. As we have already indicated, he was deeply influenced by his English teachers during his tenure as a student at the Muir College. The legal profession which he had adopted with such conspicuous success, was a profession which was conjured into existence by the British *imperium* in India; and it created in its practitioners a deep appreciation of those institutions of law and politics which underpinned British rule over India. The adoption by Motilal of a western style of life, despite his deep attachment to the indigenous culture of which he was so distinguished a product, reflected his growing identification with British values. This identification was reinforced by the visits which Motilal paid to Great Britain, at a time when she was at the zenith of her imperial glory.

We have little reason to believe that there was any tension, till the close of the nineteenth century, between the relatively quiet political milieu of Allahabad and the North-Western Provinces, on the one hand, and the mainstream of nationalist politics, as reflected in the activity of the Indian National Congress, on the other. The Congress, in the first two decades after its inception, was largely (though not exclusively) an organisation reflecting the aspirations of the educated and the professional classes in India. As such, it did not question the bonds which linked India in a relationship of subordination to the British Crown. Instead, in the period under review, the activities of the Indian National Congress were directed towards securing for the classes on which it rested a larger share

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of political and economic power; furthermore, the Congress was also wedded to the methods of constitutional agitation for securing its objectives.

The constitutional dialogue between the British Government of India, on the one hand, and the leadership of the Indian National Congress, on the other, was seriously disturbed by new developments in nationalist politics in the first decade of the twentieth century. The historical literature on nationalism in India refers to this development as the emergence of "extremist politics" in the country. Recent researches have revealed that this strand of politics reflected the entry of new social classes—particularly in Bengal, Maharashtra and the Punjab—into nationalist politics; classes whose political culture was different from the political culture of the professional classes; and who were willing to adopt more militant methods of agitation in their struggle against British imperialism.

The politics of extremism, whatever be its precipitating cause, was hardly visible in the city of Allahabad. A few members of the local Arya Samaj; a small number of individuals drawn from the lower middle class; a few *prabasi* Bengalis; and a section of the student community; these elements constituted the support base of extremist politics in Allahabad. However, the visits paid to the city in 1907, first by B.G. Tilak, and then by G.K. Gokhale, dragged Allahabad into that tension within nationalist politics—the tension between the moderates and the extremists—which had already created a crisis in the ranks of the Indian National Congress. Yet the men who mattered in Allahabad and in the North-Western Provinces, prominent among them Motilal, refused to bow before the extremist storm. Indeed, these local notables, who spoke for the politically articulate classes in the region, had already decided to hold a provincial conference in Allahabad, in order to demonstrate their solidarity with the moderate leadership within the Indian National Congress. That Motilal was chosen to preside over this conference speaks eloquently of his pre-eminent position in the province, as well as of his ideological stance in nationalist politics.

Motilal's presidential address before the provincial conference held in Allahabad on 29 March 1907, was a remarkable *tour de force*, which needs to be highlighted for two reasons. First, because it presents a sensitive analysis of the seminal issues in contemporary politics in India; and secondly, because it vividly outlines Motilal's perception of the relationship between imperialism and nationalism in the country. Motilal commenced his address with a declaration of faith in the good intentions of the British towards India. "John Bull," he observed, "means well—it is not in his nature to mean ill. . . . It takes him rather long to fully comprehend the situation. But when he does see things plainly, he does his plain duty, and there is no power on earth. . . that can successfully resist his mighty will."[18] In view of the unexceptionable motives which inspired

[18]Speech by Motilal at the First Provincial Conference of the United Provinces dated 29 March, 1907.

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British rule over India, what (Motilal asked the question) was the appropriate line of action to be adopted by men of goodwill in India, men who looked forward to the day when India took her rightful place in the community of free nations? The ranks of the Congress, the great party of organised nationalism in India, were divided into two conflicting groups on this issue. There were the moderates, who sought to rely upon time honoured methods of constitutional agitation to secure increasing control over the levers of political power for those who represented the people of India. And there were the extremists, who represented a new spirit in the country, which was especially attractive to the young and the impetuous; a spirit, moreover, under whose influence men sought to destroy, through militant action, the fabric of British rule over India.

Motilal hesitated not at all in rejecting the stance of the extremists, even though he identified himself wholly with their objective of securing political freedom for India. The two tactical weapons which the extremists were advocating as singularly appropriate to the Indian struggle for freedom, he observed, were those of swadeshi and boycott. The first of these weapons the weapon of swadeshi, was wholly commendable; indeed, it was a weapon which every patriotic Indian ought to adopt to the extent the social and economic development of India enabled him to do so. But boycott, even when confined to the economic sphere, was an instrument that could possibly prove to be counter-productive. When boycott was also applied to the arenas of politics and education, as the more vocal extremists were inclined to do, it could lead the country to total disaster. "I for one tremble to think," Motilal observed, "of the condition of things which would prevail if all our Government schools and colleges were to be closed, all Municipal and District Boards abolished, and the elected element of the legislative council done away with. Where shall be we then. The answer is plain enough; nowhere. We cannot even occupy the position reached at the beginning of British rule, when the institutions I have just mentioned did not exist. . . . We must bind ourselves (in order to struggle against the British Government) to methods which are at all times perfectly constitutional and legitimate."[19]

V

The assumption that British rule over India rested upon liberal principles, that the statesmen who controlled the destiny of the British Empire would respond positively to the growth of national conciousness in the country, went a long way towards shaping the attitudes of men like Motilal, who had adopted a moderate position within the Indian National Congress in the period under review. In the course of his address before the provincial conference, Motilal actually drew upon Macaulay's rhetorical statement, voiced in the House of Commons in 1832, that the day when India acquired the ability to govern herself through representative institutions would be "the proudest day in English history", in justification of

[19] *Ibid.*

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his favourable assessment of British motives. More tangibly, Motilal and the moderates were aware of the constitutional reforms which were being hammered out in Great Britain contemporaneously, under the guidance of a liberal Secretary of State, John Morley, who was believed to be sympathetic to Indian aspirations. Here, the moderates believed, lay concrete evidence of the good intentions of Great Britain towards India; here, they further argued, also lay an unrivalled opportunity to build a bridge of understanding between political opinion in India and Great Britain, that would ensure the slow but sure elevation of India to the status of a self-governing community.

Yet the moderate strategy, to which Motilal subscribed without any reservations at this juncture, rested upon far too flattering an appreciation of the strength of liberal sentiment, or the intentions of liberal statesmen, within the British Government. It refused to take note of the special interests in Great Britain and India—the diehard imperialists in both the major British parties; the rentier classes with substantial investments in India; the textile magnates of Lancashire; the expatriate commercial groups in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, with their metropolitan links; and most important of all, the solid ranks of the civil service—that were opposed to any devolution of power into the hands of Indian leaders.

The retrogressive influence which the special interests in Great Britain and India were able to exercise over the constitutional reforms of 1909 needs to be spelt out at this juncture. Constitutions, it is well known, are powerful instruments of political engineering, and they reflect the ideological commitments no less than the political objectives of their framers. The promise which liberal British statesmen, whose rhetoric often outstripped their power, had held out to India was the promise of constitutional reforms, which emphasised the importance of territorial constituencies, and the *de jure* equality of the individual members of a political society. The only reservation voiced by such statesmen, a reservation which the moderates in India endorsed, lay in the restriction of the franchise to those who had acquired a measure of education, and could, therefore, be expected to exercise their prerogatives in full knowledge of how democracy functioned. But over and above the liberal tradition, British statesmen could also draw upon a Whig tradition of politics, which looked upon political society as consisting, not so much of a loose aggregate of individuals, as of a number of interacting and interlocked corporate social interests. According to Whig principles, the legitimate bases for a constitution were these corporate social interests rather than the individual constituents of the social order. Territorial constituencies, and the *de jure* equality of individuals, held no place in a Whig polity. Instead, a constitution resting upon Whig principles sought to induct a number of corporate interests in the political system; and the weightage accorded to a particular interest in the constitution depended upon its wealth and power rather than upon its strength in numbers.

The moderates in India, whose sentiments Motilal voiced in 1907, looked forward to a package of reforms inspired by liberal principles. What they got instead was a Whig constitution which suffered from two

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fatal flaws. First, it completely failed to recognise the strength of nationalist sentiment in India. Secondly, it drew upon the most conservative classes in Indian society, which could be relied upon to counterbalance the nationalism of the professional classes, in a bid to reinforce the British Raj over India. The conservative spirit of the constitution of 1909 has been widely recognised so far as the creation of communal electorates is concerned. But the imperialist net was cast much wider than is commonly believed. Apart from the communal interest, which understandably looked to the British for support, other conservative elements in Indian society—the landed interest, or the commercial interest, or denominational and sectional interests—too were drawn into the political system, as a counterpoise to the professional classes, and other social groups, which were becoming restive of British control. Further, even the communal interest was very narrowly conceived in terms of the rich, property owning classes, mainly rural in character, which could be relied upon to support the *status quo* in society. The reforms of 1909, in short, constituted a repudiation of the liberal promises which had been held out to the political classes in India earlier. Furthermore, it was the first step towards the creation of a political system in the country, which would enable the British Government to exercise overall control over India, even when the husk of political authority had been transferred into the hands of Indian leaders.

Whatever hopes Motilal and the moderate leaders may have entertained of liberal British statesmen like Morley, they had very little illusions about the constitution of 1909. "Morley's long promised reforms have at last been published," Motilal stated in August 1909. "They are... just the opposite of reforms... The avowed object of the so-called reforms is to destroy the influence of the educated classes, but the law of the survival of the fittest is too strong even for Morley."[20] Yet despite such a realisation, Motilal and the moderates of his persuasion were willing to extend a hand of cooperation to the British Government in India, if only to demonstrate their willingness to meet the Imperial Government more than half way, in ensuring the orderly progress of politics in the country.

Motilal was elected to the Provincial Legislative Council in 1910, and he now spent an increasing proportion of his time in public activity, both inside as well as outside the legislature. His place in the political firmament was still with moderates like Pherozeshah Mehta, G.K. Gokhale, or S.N. Banerjea. But the quickening pulse of politics in the country, partly owing to the unrest generated by the partition of Bengal, and partly also owing to the ferment which affected the Muslim community, was bringing about a qualitative change in his political stance. Indeed, not only was his involvement in politics growing apace, but also his perception of the character of British rule over India was undergoing a fundamental change.

Perhaps the frustrating experience of confrontation with British civilians in the provincial legislature was crucial here. This experience made it unequivocally clear to Motilal, if he had any doubts earlier, that no genuine devolution of power was possible so long as the British Civil

[20] *JN Papers*: Motilal to Jawaharlal, dated 30 August, 1909.

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Service in India could have things its own way. His very first involvement in a debate over the budget, as a member of the Provincial Legislature, indicated the shape of things to come. Motilal voiced a very mild criticism of the manner in which the executive had deemed it fit to raise revenues from the impoverished people of the United Provinces. But even such a mild criticism earned for Motilal the hostility of the treasury benches; and the limited powers transferred to the elected representatives, in a constitution conjured into existence by one of Great Britain's most liberal statesmen, prevented him from exercising any constraint upon the executive. "We had no right to reply," Motilal observed, "and the important debate was wound up by the Governor who patted (on the back) the *Khushamdis* (Sycophants) and the officials."[21] This experience was repeated on a number of occasions over the next few years. Motilal, with his deep knowledge of law and the principles of administration, and with his equally deep commitment to liberal values, was one of the most forceful members of the provincial legislature. On a variety of important issues, like the representative character of the legislatures; or primary education; or the position of women in society; he argued persuasively for the adoption of more liberal policies on the part of the executive. But all to no effect. Indeed, as we shall later see, the frustrating experience of legislative politics at this juncture left a permanent impression upon Motilal; and when he participated in such activity at the level of the Central Legislature in the 1920s, it was with the avowed purpose of destroying, from within such institutions, the whole edifice of British rule over India.

VI

The outbreak of the First World War in September, 1914, gave Motilal an opportunity to reaffirm his loyalty to the British Government. Yet in doing so, he drew attention to the differences between the educated classes, on the one hand, and the British Government of India, on the other, on the question of devolution of power. The fact of the matter was that there was a new spirit abroad in the country; and Motilal was as much affected by this spirit, as were a whole generation of his countrymen, who were very soon to rise in revolt against the political relationship which tied them in bonds of subordination to Great Britain.

The new spirit, to which we have referred above, manifested itself in two distinct spheres of political activity in India. Even before the outbreak of war, the Muslim community in India had been greatly agitated by the hostility of Great Britain towards the Turkish Empire. As a result of this, a powerful section of the Muslims in India sought to reject their erstwhile stance of loyalty in politics, and to make common cause with the leadership of the Indian National Congress against the British Government. The quest for Hindu-Muslim unity led to the Lucknow Pact of 1916, and this agreement enabled the leadership of the two communities to resolve their political differences, and to agree upon a package of constitutional

[21] *JN Papers*: Motilal to Jawaharlal, dated 29 April, 1910.

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demands to be jointly placed before the British Government of India. No less significant than the Hindu-Muslim understanding of 1916, was the movement for Home Rule, which erupted upon the national stage with dramatic intensity in the second decade of the twentieth century. The moving spirit behind this development was Annie Besant, the theosophist turned nationalist, whose charismatic personality and oratorical skills enabled her to utilise the organisational network of the Theosophical Society to draw the intelligentsia, particularly men of the younger generation, into a militant posture of defiance towards the British Government of India. Besant raised the cry of Home Rule for the first time in 1916; and in a remarkably short span of time, this slogan was taken up by an entire generation of militant young men, to whom the politics of moderation, as practised by a senior generation of nationalists, spoke of a spirit of mendicancy unworthy of the people of India.

Motilal was deeply involved in both these issues, which transformed the quality of nationalist politics in India during the course of the First World War. He was a very keen advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, and he fully realised how the British Government exploited the differences between the two communities in order to frustrate nationalist demands. Even though Motilal was not directly involved in the negotiations which led to the Lucknow Pact of 1916, we have reason to believe that the wider agreement between the two communities, "of which the Lucknow Pact was a part, . . . (was) hammered out at a meeting in his house in Allahabad."[22] Besant's movement for Home Rule failed to elicit his support in the first instance. But when the Governor of Madras, Lord Pentland, interned Besant in a bid to stifle the movement, the educated classes of India rose in revolt against his high-handed action, and demanded of the British Government her immediate release. Motilal was one among a number of prominent men who joined the Home Rule League at this juncture, and his stature in public life ensured for him the presidency of the Allahabad Branch of the Home Rule League. "The country is in the midst of a crisis," Motilal pointed out to the supporters of Home Rule in Allahabad. "The Government has. . . declared a crusade against our national aims. . . . Let us raise aloft the banner of Home Rule League and 330 million throats voice forth the motto of Home Rule."[23]

Motilal's espousal of Home Rule was a clear indication of the fact that, slowly but surely, he was moving away from the moderate position which he had taken for a decade and more in nationalist politics. In doing so, Motilal was partly responding to a groundswell which he discerned around himself, and partly also giving a creative expression to this groundswell. The British Government, too, was not unaware of the changing temper of the people of the country. Already in August 1917, a statement had been made in Parliament, to the effect that the British Government was committed to "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration" and "a progressive realisation of responsible government in

[22]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 126.
[23]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 136.

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India." To gain an understanding of the climate of politics in the country, Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State, paid a personal visit to India towards the end of 1917, in the course of which he held consultations with some of the important leaders, including Motilal Nehru. Montagu, who was a liberal of the same hue as Morley, rejected the joint demand of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, that the substance of autonomy be conferred on India forthwith, through the creation of popularly elected legislatures in the provinces, and at the centre, with control over the respective executive wings of government. Instead, in the proposals which he put forth, Montagu advanced the novel idea of "dyarchy" in the provinces, whereby the provincial executives would be partly controlled by the Governor, and partly answerable to legislatures elected on a restricted franchise.

Montagu's timid proposals for constitutional reforms further widened the gulf between Motilal and his erstwhile associates of the moderate party. When the proposals came up for consideration before the Provincial Legislative Council in August 1918, Motilal refused to accept them as they stood. He argued that the time was ripe for all executive functions, with the possible exception of law and order, to be placed in the hands of elected ministers responsible to the legislatures. Anything short of such a measure would mean that the British Government was afraid of entrusting responsibility to the people of India. "We cannot learn to walk unless you give us the opportunity to exercise the function," Motilal observed. "If we keep lying down all the time then good-bye to all benefits of the exercise."[24] Motilal reiterated this position at the special session of the Indian National Congress, held in Bombay shortly afterwards, to consider the proposals for reform of the Secretary of State. None of the more prominent moderate leaders—men like T.B. Sapru or D.E. Wacha or S.N. Banerjea—were present on the occasion, to hear him speak on the need for the British Government to adopt a more imaginative approach to the Indian question than had hitherto been the case. The breach between Motilal and the moderates was now complete. Henceforth he was to associate himself, more and more, as an outstanding figure in his own right, with the new consciousness in politics that was flowing across the country.

The leading spokesman of this new consciousness in politics was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who was very soon to be elevated to the status of a Mahatma by his fellow-countrymen. The event which projected Gandhi to the national scene, as a truly epic figure, was the decision taken by the British Government in 1919, to enact laws that sought to deny to the people of India those basic liberties of person and speech which constitute the bedrock of civilised government. The Rowlatt Bills which the British Government introduced in the Central Legislature in 1919, antagonised all sections of society in the country, rich and poor, Hindu and Muslim, the professional classes and the *petite bourgeoisie*. When the British Government showed itself to be wholly insensitive to popular sentiment, Gandhi decided to initiate a countrywide movement of protest, along non-violent

[24]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 148.

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पुस्तकालय

lines, against the repressive laws upon which the alien rulers of India had set their heart. To provide organisational coherence to such a movement, Gandhi organised satyagraha sabhas throughout the length and breadth of the land. One of the centres chosen for such a sabha was Allahabad, the hub of cultural and political life in the region.

The creation of a satyagraha sabha in Allahabad, as a point of focus for the organisation of an agitation against the Rowlatt Bills, confronted Motilal with a serious dilemma. His son, Jawaharlal, to whom he was deeply attached, and who had since his return to India in 1912 been drawn increasingly into nationalist politics, decided to join the satyagraha sabha of Allahabad. The idea of defying the laws of an alien government, which had lost its moral legitimacy, through non-violent yet militant means, appealed enormously to the youthful imagination of Jawaharlal. "When I first read about . . . (Gandhiji's) proposal in the newspapers, my reaction was one of the tremendous relief," states Jawaharlal in his *Autobiography*. "Here at last was a way out of the tangle, a method of action which was straight and open and possibly effective."[25] Yet Motilal did not share, at this juncture, his son's enthusiasm for the militant non-violence of Gandhi. Nor did he entertain any exaggerated hopes of what could be achieved through an agitation resting upon the technique of satyagraha. True, Motilal had already cut himself adrift from the moderates, his erst-while friends, and he had espoused the cause of radical nationalism at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress. But he was still not pre-pared to adopt extra-constitutional methods of agitation, which involved a frontal collision with the British Government of India. Perhaps a lifetime spent in the profession of law had created in Motilal's consciousness a deep respect for legal values and legal institutions, as well as for the orderly procedures of governance, and this regard for legality and propriety was not to be shaken loose all of a sudden by the subtle logic of the Mahatma. Besides, it is important to remember that Gandhi, despite his achievements in South Africa, and despite also the extraordinary position which he had earned for himself in India in a remarkably brief span of time, since his return from South Africa in 1915, was still something of an unknown quantity in Indian politics in 1919. Furthermore, it still remained to be seen how potent a weapon was the weapon of satyagraha, and to what extent would non-violence contribute to the success of the struggle for freedom in India.

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Whatever reservations Motilal may have entertained about the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919, the brutality with which the authorities in the Punjab suppressed the popular agitation against the Rowlatt Act drew from him strong condemnation of the British Government. The atrocities committed by British officials—the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in particular—sent shock-waves of horror throughout the country, and all sections of society revolted against the humiliation, and worse, inflicted upon the people of the Punjab. Motilal had very close ties with the Punjab, and some of his friends, prominent among them, Lala Harkishen Lal, the distinguished

[25] *An Autobiography*, p. 41.

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financier and entrepreneur, became the victims of official fury at the bold expression of their nationalist fervour by the Punjabis. Even before Gandhi, and the leadership of the Indian National Congress could make any move to extend support to the people of the Punjab, Motilal appealed to Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Sinha, a Member of the Indian Council, for permission to render legal assistance to the hapless victims of British vindictiveness in the province.

The happenings of April, 1919, in Amritsar and elsewhere drew Motilal into the very eye of the storm, as a member of the committee of enquiry created by the Indian National Congress to look into the reign of terror unleashed by the Government of the Punjab. The membership of this committee proved to be a very fateful experience for Motilal. It brought him into close contact with the Mahatma, and it gave him a revealing glimpse of the remarkable combination of the visionary and the realist which went into the making of his personality. Furthermore, membership of the committee of enquiry also obliged Motilal to take a fresh look at the character of British rule over the country. It was clear to Motilal, as he travelled about the Punjab in 1919, talking to leading men as well as to ordinary citizens, that behind the liberal facade of the Raj, lay a frightfulness, a capacity for blind repression, for brutal action, which could surface at the slightest assertion of their will by the people of the country. There is little reason to believe that Motilal, even before 1919, harboured any great illusions about the nature of the British Raj. He had outgrown his moderate views well before the events of 1919. But the traumatic experience of travelling around the Punjab, in the wake of the Rowlatt Satyagraha, opened his eyes still further to the brutality of British rule over India.

How deeply Motilal was affected by what he saw in the Punjab, in 1919, is vividly reflected in his presidential address before the annual session of the Indian National Congress, which was held in Amritsar towards the close of the year. At the very commencement of his address, Motilal referred to the tradition of authoritarianism which had characterised British rule over the Punjab since its very inception. The Punjabis had discovered in the person of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the province in the period under consideration, someone whose insensitivity to nationalist opinion marked him out in a region where British civilians could hardly be accused of suffering from an excess of liberalism. When the pent-up feelings of the people of the Punjab found expression in the satyagraha launched by Gandhi in April 1919, the Government of the province reacted with primitive fury, and initiated a policy of repression, the like of which had not been seen in India since 1857. The tragic events associated with the Rowlatt agitation in the Punjab, Motilal observed, held lessons for the people of India as well as for the British rulers of the land. "To us (Indians) they point to the path of steadfast endeavour, the path of sacrifice and patient ordeal. That is the only way to reach our goal. To Englishmen, they teach the oft-repeated truth that tyranny degrades those who exercise it as much as those who suffer under it. . . It is for England to learn the lesson and put an end to conditions which promote occurrences (like the Punjab atrocities) in her own dominion. If our lives and honour

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are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is mockery. Constitutional reform without free citizenship is like rich attire on a dead body. Better to breathe God's free air in rags than be a corpse in the finest raiment."[26]

Motilal's reappraisal of the nature of British rule over India, as he saw it reflected in the frightful happenings at Amritsar and elsewhere in the Punjab, coincided with some seminal developments in politics in India. We have already drawn attention to the grave disquiet which affected the Muslim community in India, over the hostile attitude of the British Government towards Turkey. Since Turkey was one of the vanquished powers in 1918, the Muslims of India became extremely anxious about the fate of the *Khilafat*, and the security of the holy places of Islam, which had hitherto been looked after by the Turkish Government. The Muslim leaders, prominent among them the brothers, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abul Bari, turned to the Mahatma to lead their community in a movement of non-violent protest against the British Government. Motilal, whose cultural roots tied him in close bonds of sympathy to the Muslim community, shared their apprehensions about British good faith towards the Turkish Empire and the institution of *Khilafat*. These apprehensions were heightened by the callousness of the British Government towards the sufferings of those Punjabis who had participated in the Rowlatt Satyagraha. When the official committee of enquiry, or at any rate its British members, placed their findings before the authorities, they put responsibility for the unfortunate happenings in the Punjab squarely on the shoulders of the Mahatma and his followers. These extraordinary conclusions were accepted without any reservations by the Government of India. So furious was Motilal at the indifference of the British Government to the sufferings of his countrymen, that he wrote to Jawaharlal: "My blood is boiling ever since I read the summaries (of the Hunter Report) you have sent me. We must hold a special Congress now and raise a veritable hell for the rascals."[27]

Yet Motilal's fury at the misdeeds of the British Government did not win him over immediately to the views of Gandhi. The Mahatma was seeking, at this juncture, to rally Hindus and Muslims behind the programme of non-cooperation; a programme which exhorted the people to withdraw forthwith from the institutions of the British Raj—educational, administrative and judicial—and thus ensure its destruction within a year. In view of the prominent position occupied by Motilal in public life, the Mahatma was anxious for his support. He had in Jawaharlal, Motilal's son, an enthusiastic convert to the novel technique of political agitation which he was seeking to apply to the struggle for political freedom in India. Nevertheless, Motilal took some time before he decided to extend support to the idea of non-cooperation, though once he had made

[26]"Responsible Self-government": Presidential Address of Motilal Nehru delivered at the thirty-fourth annual session of the Indian National Congress, dated 27 December, 1919, at Amritsar.

[27]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 175.

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up his mind, he plunged into non-violent warfare against the British Government with a sense of commitment which was characteristic of his personality.

Motilal's conversion to Gandhian politics, and his acceptance of the programme of non-cooperation, has been the subject of considerable speculation by scholars who have written about the struggle for freedom in India. Perhaps the best account of Motilal's conversion is given in Jawaharlal's *Autobiography*, which explains at some length the complex interplay of motives which led to this transformation. When the Mahatma gave his call for non-cooperation, Jawaharlal observes, Motilal took careful stock of the situation before he signified his support to the Mahatma. Indeed, he pondered over the question for a couple of months, before the special session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta. That this should be so was hardly surprising. To respond positively to the Mahatma's call meant giving up, at the age of fifty-nine, the social, professional and intellectual commitments of three decades and more. "But ... (Motilal's) reason, his strong sense of self-respect, and his pride, all led him step by step to throw in his lot wholeheartedly with the new movement. The accumulated anger with which a series of events, culminating in the Punjab tragedy and its aftermath filled him; the sense of utter wrong-doing and injustice, the bitterness of national humiliation, had to find some way out. But he was not to be sucked away by a wave of enthusiasm. *It was only when his reason, backed by the trained mind of a lawyer, had weighed all the pros and cons that he took the final decision and joined Gandhiji in his campaign.*"[28] (Emphasis not in original).

The decision to participate in the non-cooperation movement brought about a radical change in the style of life of Motilal and the members of his family. Almost overnight Motilal ceased leading the life, sartorially speaking, of an upper class Englishman; and under the influence of the Mahatma, he commenced wearing the simple khadi clothes which became the uniform of Gandhian nationalism in India. The sartorial transformation held a symbolic significance which needs to be emphasised in this context. Unlike the nationalism which flourished in India prior to the First World War, the nationalism activated by Gandhi in the 1920s, rested upon a conscious quest for the political identity and the cultural roots of India. The adoption of an indigenous style of dress, fabricated out of khadi, with the spinning wheel or *charkha* as the symbol of a resurgent India, represented an important facet of this quest for identity and cultural roots. Indeed, life at Anand Bhavan changed in other respects, too, partly for reasons of economy, since Motilal as a non-cooperator no longer accepted legal briefs, but more importantly, because he was consciously reaching out to the Indian past, at the same time as he identified himself with the militant yet non-violent politics of the Mahatma. Describing the changes which had transformed Anand Bhavan, as well as the members of the Nehru family, in a letter to Gandhi, Motilal observed; "What a fall,

[28] *An Autobiography*, p. 65.

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my countrymen! but, really, I have never enjoyed life better".[29]

When the Indian National Congress met at a special session in Calcutta in September 1920, Motilal was one of the few established leaders who voted for the adoption of non-cooperation. His enthusiastic support of the Gandhian programme earned him a place in the sub-committee which was appointed to work out a detailed programme of action for the attainment of swaraj within an year. He was, at the same time, elevated to membership of the Congress Working Committee, and appointed General Secretary to the organisation. So prominent was the position which Motilal acquired in the nationalist scheme of things, that Anand Bhavan, his residence, virtually became the headquarters of the freedom struggle in the United Provinces. The erstwhile setting of innumerable gatherings of high society in Allahabad now became "a caravanserai frequented by humble looking folk clad in homespun—party members sojourning or passing through Allahabad."[30]

The round of political activities which focused upon Motilal, Jawaharlal, and other members of the Nehru family, gained in intensity after the annual session of the Indian National Congress in December 1920 at Nagpur. The new year witnessed the unfolding, in Allahabad as well as in the surrounding rural districts, of the programme of non-cooperation which Motilal and other nationalist leaders had hammered out under the watchful eye of the Mahatma. This programme, which involved in the initial stages withdrawal from British created institutions of education, justice and administration, was designed to climax in a movement of civil disobedience which would involve the people in the non-payment of taxes to the Government of India. As the temper of the people rose to a high pitch of excitement, in anticipation of a 'do or die' struggle with the British Government, the Mahatma was asked time and again by the Congress leadership to give the green signal for a "no-tax" campaign. But he held his hand, at least partly because of a suspicion that the masses were insufficiently schooled in the technique of satyagraha to be drawn into a large scale non-violent struggle with the British Government.

In the meanwhile, the Government of the United Provinces decided to put an end to the freedom of action enjoyed by two of the most distinguished exponents of Gandhian nationalism in the region. On 6 December 1921, a visibly nervous police officer arrested Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru at Anand Bhavan. Next day, father and son were produced before a magistrate, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment for six months, to serve which term they were taken to the district jail at Lucknow. Here they anxiously awaited a call for civil disobedience from the Mahatma to the country at large. Instead came the decision to suspend the nationalist struggle. This call was issued by Gandhi after a violent confrontation between the police and a crowd of rural non-cooperators at Chauri Chaura, a remote village in the eastern United Provinces. In his prison at Lucknow, where Motilal resided along with his son, he received the news

[29] *MN Papers*: Motilal to Gandhi, dated 1921.
[30] Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 185.

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of this decision, and was aghast at the step taken by the Mahatma in calling off a countrywide movement of protest because of the loss of a few lives. For Motilal, as indeed for others who had accepted Gandhi's lead, the struggle upon which they had embarked was to result in swaraj. Instead, they found themselves suddenly in a situation where a country-wide agitation had been called off for what, in the first instance, appeared to be very trivial reasons.

VII

When Motilal was released from prison in 1922, he discerned that the nationalist movement of such monumental proportions, organised by the Mahatma barely two years ago, had become a fragmented and disorganised force. That things had come to such a pass was the reverse of surprising. For the sudden suspension of civil disobedience, after the Chauri Chaura incident, came as a great shock to the leadership of the Congress as well as to the people of India. In this climate of despondency, the All India Congress Committee appointed a committee to review the events of the past two years, and to recommend an appropriate course of action. This committee, on completing its task, found it difficult to recommend a clear cut course of action. Some of its members—the so-called 'no-changers'—saw no reason whatsoever to modify the programme adopted by the Indian National Congress in September 1920. Others, Motilal prominent amongst them, were of the view that the struggle for freedom should next be taken up in the legislative councils, both in the provinces and at the centre, which had been created by the Act of 1919. Motilal's advocacy of a change of tactics received powerful support from C.R. Das, another very influential figure in nationalist politics, who was looked upon as the uncrowned king of Bengal; and the two were jointly able to win over to their position important leaders from the Presidency of Bombay, the Central Provinces, the Presidency of Madras and the Punjab.

The logic of Motilal's position in 1922, after the virtual collapse of the non-cooperation movement, and the arrest of the Mahatma, needs to be carefully examined at this juncture. The people of the country, Hindus and Muslims, rich and poor, urban and rural folk, so Motilal believed, had demonstrated an extraordinary solidarity, and a remarkable capacity for self-sacrifice, in response to the Mahatma's call for a non-violent struggle against the British Government. However, when the people were all set for a decisive trial of strength, Gandhi, for reasons which may have been perfectly legitimate in themselves, had suddenly called off the movement for civil disobedience. The powerful sentiment for freedom in various classes and communities, which had been so skilfully evoked by the prophet of non-violence, urgently called for a creative outlet; an outlet, moreover, that would help attain the objective of swaraj which had eluded the Mahatma in 1921. What could be more appropriate than transferring the nationalist struggle onto the arena of the new legislatures created by the Act of 1919? The essence of Motilal's strategy lay in capturing the reformed legislatures, and then utilizing them to put an end

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to British rule over India. The battle for swaraj had been fought earlier through a non-violent confrontation between satyagrahis and the British Government of India; this epic struggle was now to be taken up in the central legislature in New Delhi, as well as in the various provincial legislatures. The British Government had undoubtedly created these legislatures, with their "special" constituencies and their limited franchise, in order to dampen the fires of nationalism in India. But Motilal sought to transform the legislatures into instruments of the national will, which had been aroused to a level of political consciousness that had never been attained before, by the skilful leadership of the Mahatma, in the immediate post-war years.

Whatever be the validity of Motilal's perception of politics in 1922, he was unable to win over to his stance a majority of the leaders who had responded to the Mahatma's call for non-cooperation in 1920. When Motilal and C.R. Das spelt out their strategy at the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress in December 1922, they made very little impression on the Gandhian loyalists who still dominated the councils of the organisation. As a result, they created a new organisation called the "Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party", which had Das as its President, and Motilal as its General Secretary. The Swaraj Party, as it came to be called, proclaimed its overall loyalty to the creed of the Mahatma. But instead of seeking swaraj through the weapon of satyagraha, it sought to undermine the British Raj through obstructing the conduct of business in the new legislatures which had come into existence as a result of the Reforms of 1919.

Although C.R. Das was the President of the swarajists, he was so deeply involved in the politics of Bengal, that the affairs of the party at the national level were left largely in the hands of Motilal. The election manifesto of the new party, issued on 14 October 1923, describes the swarajists as "a party within the Congress, and as such an integral part of the Congress."[31] The swarajists were equally committed, through their manifesto, to the cause of India's freedom, but they sought to secure this objective through means different from those adopted by Gandhi. Instead of relying on non-cooperation, the swarajists proposed to carry the struggle "into the enemy's camp by entering the councils."[32] Motilal's vigorous election campaign, and the logical strength of his position, were eloquently reflected in the creditable performance of the Swaraj Party at the polls. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the swarajists won an impressive 42 out of 101 elective seats. They faired equally well in the Provincial Assemblies in the United Provinces, Assam and Bengal; and in the case of the Central Provinces, they secured an outright majority.

As the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, Motilal rose to new heights of eloquence, and skill in political manoeuvre against the British Government of India. Indeed, his was the towering personality in an assembly which could boast of a host of outstanding

[31]Election Manifesto of the Swaraj Party dated 14 October, 1923 quoted in Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 207.

[32]*Ibid.*

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figures, like M.A. Jinnah, or Lajpat Rai, or Madan Mohan Malaviya, or Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, or Sir Malcolm Hailey, or Sir Alexander Muddiman. Motilal secured a victory of very considerable proportions, at the very outset, when he was able to draw the Muslim and the moderate members of the assembly into a loose alliance with the Swaraj Party. The resulting coalition, the so-called Nationalist Party, possessed the strength in numbers to outvote the official members and their creatures in the Central Legislature, and this placed in the hands of Motilal a most formidable weapon, in his determination to wreck the reformed constitution from within the councils.

The strength of the Nationalist Party, under the leadership of Motilal, made itself felt at the very commencement of the new session of the Central Legislative Assembly. The constellation of political groups, which had been brought together by his adroit leadership, embarked upon a forceful campaign to wrest political concessions from the British Government. The opening shot in the campaign was fired by a private member, who moved a resolution demanding the appointment of a Royal Commission to review the Constitution of 1919, in such a manner as to secure for India the status of a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. Immediately thereafter, Motilal presented an amendment to this resolution, proposing that the new constitution be framed by a round table conference, drawing upon leaders who represented different strands of political opinion in India. Not surprisingly, this demand was rejected by Sir Malcolm Hailey, as a spokesman of the Government of India, who argued that the Constitution of 1919 had provided for a machinery of review after the lapse of a decade, that is, after 1929. But Motilal would have nothing to do with assurances that amounted to acts of grace on the part of the British Government. Moreover, he was of the view that the Constitution of 1919, upon which Hailey had taken his stand, was a piece of legislation designed with the sole purpose of thwarting the aspirations of the people of India for freedom. If the British Government could see its way to satisfying these aspirations, then the swarajists and their allies would extend a hand of cooperation to the alien rulers of the land. But if it took a contrary position, then (Motilal observed) "we shall, like men stand upon our rights and continue to be non-cooperators."[33]

That the British Government of India should reject the demand for political consultations leading to dominion status for India surprised no one, least of all Motilal and his followers in the Central Legislative Assembly. But the nationalists were able to score a tremendous moral victory over their opponents when 76 members of the Assembly voted in favour of Motilal's amendment, and only 48 voted against it. From this triumph Motilal went on to defeat the Government on a number of issues: for instance, the first four budgetary demands were rejected in their entirety; and a finance bill, too, was thrown out on its introduction.

[33] *The Legislative Assembly Debates* (Official Report), *Vol. IV, Part I,* (Delhi, 1924), p. 370.

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However, the Constitution of 1919 conferred on the Viceroy the power to veto the decisions of the legislature. As a result of this, Motilal's victories were not consequential of any practical effect, since the Viceroy, on each occasion when the Government was defeated, took recourse to the special powers with which he had been invested by the constitution. Nevertheless, as we have suggested above, the moral effect of these victories, which were proclaimed throughout the land by a jubilant nationalist press, was tremendous, and made the British Government look extremely ridiculous in the eyes of the educated classes of India.

With the legislative victories which he scored over the British Government in 1924, Motilal's stock stood extremely high in nationalist circles. Consequently, he made a bid to win over the Mahatma to his viewpoint towards the middle of the year. However, for the Mahatma non-violence was a philosophical creed, and the strategy and the tactics of non-cooperation were inextricably linked up to his overall view of the human condition. Motilal's argument that the events of 1922—the incident at Chauri Chaura, and the consequent suspension of civil disobedience—called for a new look at the political situation, indeed, for a change of tactics in the struggle against imperialism, failed to convince the Mahatma. Yet the Mahatma was not blind to the fact that the differences which had surfaced in the nationalist leadership worked entirely to the advantage of the British Government. Later in the year, therefore, he reached an agreement with the swarajist leaders, Motilal and C.R. Das, whereby their party became an integral part of the Indian National Congress. This agreement, which signified the closing of the nationalist ranks, was formally ratified at the Belgaum Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1924, which was held under the presidentship of Gandhi.

Notwithstanding the distinguished leadership which Motilal provided to the Swaraj Party in the Central Legislative Assembly during 1924-25, he presided over a very fragile constellation of political groups at this juncture. The nationalist coalition in the Central Assembly included moderate and Muslim members who were by no means fully committed to the policy of the Swaraj Party of undermining the constitution. Indeed, the provincial leaders who had gathered under Motilal's banner in the Bombay Presidency, and in the Central Provinces, resented the constraints which the strategy of wrecking the councils from within imposed upon them. These provincial leaders—M.R. Jayakar, or N.C. Kelkar, or B.S. Moonje, among others—were men who had taken to politics under the aegis of the great Tilak; and although they had accepted the swarajist label in 1922, they were actually "responsivists", who believed in working the political system which had been created in 1919, even though their strategic objectives were no different from those of Motilal or the Mahatma. The constitutional prerogatives enjoyed by the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors greatly heightened such dissensions within the nationalist ranks, for even though Motilal and his followers succeeded in defeating crucial bills in the legislatures, the use of the veto by the Viceroy, and by the Governors, robbed their victories of any practical

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significance. The dissidence of the erstwhile Tilakites assumed the form of an open revolt when S.B. Tambe, the swarajist President of the Legislative Assembly in the Central Provinces, accepted membership of the Executive Council of the Governor. What the 'no-changers' had foreseen in 1922 thus actually came to pass. Men who had fought elections and entered the assemblies, presumably in order to wreck them, found the temptations of high office irresistable, and jettisoned the objective which had inspired them to enter into a constitutional "dialogue" with the British Government, at the central as well as at the provincial levels. However, Motilal was quick to read the writing on the wall. He realised that unless the rot was stemmed in time, the whole edifice which he had so carefully erected, stood in danger of crumbling into the dust. On 8 March 1926, therefore, he led the Swaraj Party out of the Central Legislative Assembly, in order to demonstrate beyond the shadow of doubt, his firm resolution to have nothing to do with a government which was so insensitive to the popular desire for swaraj.

VIII

Motilal's superb sense of timing in abandoning, in 1926, the stance which he had adopted after the suspension of non-cooperation in 1922, bears eloquent witness to the sensitivity of his political perception. For a change in the climate of politics was already making itself felt in the country, as the swarajists walked out of the legislature in New Delhi, and in the various provincial capitals, in a gesture of defiance against the British Government. The interlude between 1922 to 1926 was, in a manner of speaking, a difficult interlude for nationalists of different persuasions in the country. Not only had the countrywide agitation launched by the Mahatma come to an abrupt end in 1922, but deep cleavages between different religious communities, as well as between different generations of nationalists, had become manifest in the body politic.

The most alarming development of the period under review was the breakdown of the Hindu-Muslim entente, which the Mahatma had so skilfully conjured into existence during the heroic days of non-cooperation. This development, in striking contrast to the vindication of the nationalist position by Motilal and the swarajists in the legislatures, ensured that Hindus and Muslims spoke with discordant voices on the crucial political issues of the day, thereby seriously weakening the challenge which they could jointly mount against the British rulers of the land. Nor was the communal problem the only problem which confronted Motilal and the leaders of his generation. They further sensed that a younger generation of nationalists—represented best of all by a social democrat like Jawaharlal Nehru—was becoming increasingly critical of their strategy and tactics. This generation of nationalists wanted to launch a frontal attack on the British Government, and secure for the country *purna swaraj*, or complete independence. Over and above this, Jawaharlal and the younger generation of political activists also sought to transform nationalism from a purely political into a social and an economic question. They believed

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that the resolution of India's political bondage, as well as of her poverty, could best be achieved by reorganising the national polity on socialist principles, whereby the wealth of the country would be socially owned, and the rewards of labour equitably distributed between different social classes.

It was in this context that the British Government appointed a Commission, the so-called Simon Commission, with a membership drawn exclusively from the British Parliament, to review the political progress made by India since the enactment of the Reforms of 1919. That the British Government did not think it fit to associate even a single citizen of India with the Simon Commission, at a point in time when nationalism had become so powerful a force in the country, gives us a rare insight into the lofty arrogance of the imperial psyche. However, this arrogance was a blessing in disguise for nationalism in India. Practically all classes and communities in the country came together in their hostility to the Simon Commission, and when the members of this ill-assorted group toured the length and breadth of the land, in order to exchange views with political leaders of differing persuasions in different regions, they were greeted everywhere by hostile crowds, which in their numerical strength no less than in their social composition, recalled the popular enthusiasm against the British Raj in the tumultuous years of non-cooperation.

At the same time as he appointed the Simon Commission, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State, threw an open challenge to the nationalist leadership to devise a constitution for India that would be acceptable to all classes and communities in the country. Behind this challenge lay the arrogant assumption that the people of India had still to acquire a consciousness of nationhood; that the great religious minorities, the Muslim community in particular, would not agree to make common cause with the Hindus in presenting a charter of constitutional demands to the British Government; and finally, that princely India remained largely untouched by the forces that were at work in the provinces of British India. Birkenhead's challenge was too arrogant a challenge to be overlooked by the nationalist leaders of India. Consequently, a decision was taken at the Madras session of the Indian National Congress, in 1927, to draft a constitution for an independent India, in association with other organised political groups in the country. In pursuit of this decision, an All Parties Conference met under the presidentship of M.A. Ansari, the distinguished Muslim leader, to devise a constitutional framework for an independent India. At this conference, a Sub-Committee with Motilal Nehru as its Chairman, and the distinguished liberal, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as one of its members, was created to draft such a constitution.

The Nehru Report, as the constitution drafted by Motilal, with the assistance of Sapru, came to be known, was a document which was destined to play an important role in the political destiny of India. In drafting this constitution, Motilal had to resolve two basic problems. First, he had to devise a political system that would be acceptable to the leaders of the two major religious communities, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims. Secondly, he had to take into consideration the sentiments of the younger

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generation of nationalist leaders, men like Jawaharlal, who were pressing for a radicalisation of the national movement, and who had adopted as an immediate objective the attainment of *purna swaraj* by India.

Motilal's attitude to the communal problem which plagued the Indian polity, at this juncture, combined strategic firmness with tactical flexibility in finely balanced proportions. In the long run, so Motilal believed, the communal problem would of its own accord cease to loom so menacingly on the political scene. "We are certain that, as soon as India is free and can face her problems unhampered by alien authority and intervention, the minds of our people will turn to the vital questions of the day... parties will be formed in the country and in the legislatures on entirely other grounds, chiefly economic, we presume."[34] Yet whatever be the strategic prospect, it was clear to Motilal that, in the immediate future, some tangible assurances would have to be held out to the Muslims, if they were to join hands with the Hindus in presenting common political demands to the British Government. To this end, Motilal made a number of recommendations: first, he suggested that a declaration of rights, assuring religious and personal liberty to all citizens of India, should be inserted in the constitution; secondly, he recommended the creation of two new provinces, namely, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, where the Muslims would constitute a majority of the population; and finally, although he recommended the abrogation of communal electorates, he sweetened the pill (so far as the Muslims were concerned) by the prescription that seats be reserved for Muslims, in the central as well as in the provincial legislatures.

As we have already mentioned, at the time when Motilal drafted his constitutional proposals, the radical temper of the younger generation of nationalists was also a matter of serious concern to him. Indeed, it was clear to Motilal, that in the political climate of 1928, the erstwhile formula of *swaraj*, which Gandhi had utilised earlier to attract different classes and communities to the standard of non-cooperation, could hardly be expected to meet the approval of these radical young men. However, Motilal believed that to opt for *purna swaraj*, or complete independence, would also be premature at this point in time. The constitution devised by him, therefore, stipulated that the status of India within the British Empire should be identical with the status of self-governing colonies like Canada or Australia. In formal terms, Motilal proposed that India be granted Dominion Status rather than complete independence.

Although Motilal produced in the Nehru Report a constitutional blueprint which dealt with the crucial issues in Indian politics with vision and sympathy, his proposals were unable to secure the approval of some significant sections of society in India. Soon after the Report was issued, the Congress leadership assembled at Calcutta, in December 1928, to discuss the constitutional proposals of Motilal. The Muslim leaders at the Calcutta Congress felt that, in view of the plural character of society in India, some

[34]Quotation from Nehru Report in R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem 1833-1935* (Oxford, 1943), p, 89.

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of the recommendations of the Nehru Report—particularly the emphasis on a unitary constitution, and the abrogation of communal electorates—would not meet the wishes of their constituents. In a conference held slightly later, in March 1929, the Muslim leaders presented a radically different prescription for the constitutional future of India. They envisaged the political future of India in terms of a federal polity, wherein the minorities, particularly the Muslim community, would protect their interests through the mechanism of separate electorates.

In view of the leading role which he had played in drafting a constitution for India, Motilal was an obvious choice for the presidency of the Indian National Congress in 1928. As the time approached for the annual session at Calcutta, Motilal sensed the opposition which had crystallised to the constitutional future which he envisaged for the country. We have already dwelt upon the reaction of the Muslim leadership to the Nehru Report. Even more alarming than the Muslim response, were the differences which emerged between Motilal and the senior generation of nationalists, on the one hand, and the younger and radical nationalists, led by Jawaharlal and Subhas Chandra Bose, on the other. To Jawaharlal the adoption of Dominion Status as the objective of the Indian National Congress seemed a retrogressive and not a progressive step, and he questioned the sagacity of the position adopted by his father. Once more, as in 1920, the atmosphere at Anand Bhavan became electrified as Motilal and Jawaharlal sorted out the differing views which they held on the crucial issues of the day. "Father and son are atilt," Motilal confessed to a kinsman, not altogether without pride in the patriotic fervour of his son, "but Jawaharlal would not be my son if he did not stick to his guns."[35] Behind the differences between Motilal and Jawaharlal stood the revolt of a younger generation of nationalists, impatient of the relatively moderate stance of their elders. Here was a cleavage in the nationalist ranks, which was even more disturbing than the differences that had arisen between the Hindu and the Muslim leadership on the constitutional future of the country. Since he was confronted with a crisis of the most alarming character, Motilal turned to the Mahatma for support. How crucial was Gandhi's role in bringing about unity within the Congress, at this juncture, is vividly reflected in the proceedings of the annual session at Calcutta. In the Subjects Committee, where various issues were debated before they were taken up in the open session, the question whether the Nehru Report was to be adopted in its entirety, and Dominion Status accepted as the national objective, became a subject of heated discussion. The younger members of the Subjects Committee were insistent in their demand for complete independence. Indeed, but for the Mahatma's presence, and his healing touch, it is doubtful whether the revolt of the young could have been controlled by the older generation of leaders. As it was, what emerged in the Subjects Committee was in the nature of a compromise. The Nehru Report was accepted in its entirety, but on the crucial issue of Dominion Status, the Congress leadership decided that if the British

[35]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 303.

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Government did not concede this minimum demand within the span of a year, then they would initiate a movement of civil disobedience to win *purna swaraj* for the country. The compromise adopted in the Subjects Committee was then approved in the open session of the Congress.

Motilal's presidential address at Calcutta was, in the main, a stirring call for unity among different nationalist groups committed to securing political freedom for India. The constitutional provisions embodied in the Nehru Report, Motilal observed, whether they touched upon the vexed question of the political links between Great Britain and India, or whether they related to the communal question, represented a consensus which had been reached, after prolonged debate and discussion, at the All Parties Conference. The Report represented, in other words, the common ground between different strands of political opinion in the country. It was both legitimate and natural for members of the Indian National Congress to entertain more radical views on nationalist objectives, as they pertained to the communal question, or to the issue of Dominion Status versus *purna swaraj*. At the same time, the leaders of the Congress could not absolve themselves of the moral responsibility to carry different schools of thought along with them in their confrontation with British imperialism. "The position," Motilal observed, "as I view it, is this. Here is a constitution agreed upon by the various parties invited by the Congress to frame it. These parties know that the goal of the Congress is complete independence. They do not ask the Congress to change its goal, but present to it the result of their labours, such as it is, and say that they are prepared to go thus far and no further at present. They offered their cooperation and demand that of the Congress. . . . Is this Congress going to refuse them this cooperation. . .? If the Congress will do that, it will abdicate its proper function to guide the nation on its forward march. The action calls for skilful generalship, and not academic discussions which take us nowhere."[36]

The decisions taken by the Indian National Congress at Calcutta were as much of a triumph for Motilal and the senior generation of nationalist leaders, as they were a triumph for Jawaharlal and the young radicals within the nationalist ranks. An important by-product of the Calcutta Congress was the return of the Mahatma to "active" politics, after a period of three or four years, during which period he had engaged himself in constructive work in his ashram. As we have indicated earlier, the support which the Mahatma extended to Motilal at Calcutta was crucial for the acceptance, although in a modified form, of the clause of Dominion Status by the Congress, at least for the space of a year. Furthermore, it was now clear that the organised forces of nationalism in India were heading towards yet another trial of strength with the British Government, just as it was also clear that the Mahatma, with his moral authority over the people enormously enhanced during the years of constructive work in his

[36] "Dominion Status or Independence": Presidental Address of Motilal Nehru delivered at the forty-third session of the Indian National Congress, dated 29 December, 1928, at Calcutta.

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ashram, would once again be called upon to lead his countrymen in a non-violent assault on the British Raj.

These developments within nationalist politics were followed with close interest by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin. A Tory who was not altogether insensitive to the winds of change that were blowing across India, Irwin had earlier committed a monumental blunder in approving the wholly British composition of the Simon Commission, which had been constituted to review the political progress of the subcontinent. However, as Irwin's perception of politics in India sharpened, he came to realise more and more the extent to which the desire for freedom had taken firm root among the common people of the country. "There is quite clearly a strong movement to the left among advanced Hindu political opinion. . . ,"[37] he wrote to the Secretary of State for India in January 1929. The Viceroy was also convinced that the situation called for a liberal gesture on the part of the Imperial Government; a gesture which would clear the climate of distrust and suspicion which had come to plague relations between the British leaders and the nationalist leadership of India. Irwin had since some time, partly as a result of consultations with moderate leaders, been toying with the idea of initiating a dialogue between responsible Indian leaders and a delegation of British parliamentarians. He further believed that it had become necessary to declare, in unambiguous terms, that the constitutional progress of India would over the years confer on her a status comparable to the status of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. Irwin took the opportunity offered by a vacation in Great Britain, in the middle of 1929, to place his views before the British Government. As a result of these consultations, Irwin declared, on his return to India, that the British Government would soon call a round table conference to discuss the political future of India; and further, that "the natural issue of India's constitutional progress" was "the attainment of Dominion Status."[38]

Irwin's declaration of October 1929 obliged Gandhi, Motilal and other Congress leaders to re-examine the decision, taken at the Calcutta Congress, to throw a challenge to the British Government, if Dominion Status was not bestowed on India by the end of 1929. As a result of the ostensibly conciliatory gesture made by the Viceroy, the more important Congress leaders, and a few distinguished liberals, met in Delhi in the first week of November, to draft a formal response to the viceregal declaration. The matter was one of considerable delicacy, since Irwin's declaration was eminently capable of being subjected to conflicting interpretations. At the meeting of the Congress and the Liberal leaders held in Delhi, Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose, who represented the radical viewpoint, were in favour of an outright rejection of Irwin's declaration. But Gandhi, Motilal, and the majority decided in favour of a positive response to the Viceroy's gesture. The statement issued by these leaders, popularly known as the Delhi Manifesto, welcomed the decision to hold a round table conference of British

[37]Irwin to Wedgewood Benn, dated 17 January 1929; quoted in *The Earl of Birkenhead, Halifax: The Life of Lord Halifax* (London, 1965), p. 263.

[38]Quoted in J.M. Brown, *Gandhi And Civil Disobedience* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 62.

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and Indian leaders to discuss the future of India. However, the manifesto made it clear that the Congress leaders interpreted the Viceroy's statement to mean that the "Conference is to meet not to discuss *when* Dominion Status is to be established, but to *frame* a scheme of Dominion Status."[39] (Emphasis not in original).

If Motilal and some of the Congress leaders entertained any doubts as to the intentions of the British Government, their doubts must have been set at rest by the debate which took place in the British Parliament over Irwin's declaration. To put matters briefly, all sections of opinion in Great Britain, within the Government as well as outside it, threw their weight against any sympathetic (to Indian aspirations) interpretation of Irwin's declaration of October 1929. Reading, whose views carried the authority of a former Viceroy, who was also a distinguished Liberal, looked upon the declaration as "something which reflected adversely upon the dignity of the Simon Commission." Baldwin, the Conservative leader, who had sent Irwin to India, refused to endorse the policies of his protege. David Lloyd George, the leader of Great Britain during the First World War, utilised the occasion to launch a ferocious attack upon the Labour Government in power. Even Wedgewood Benn, despite his sympathy for Indian aspirations, wilted under the ferocity of the joint Liberal and Conservative assault, and simply explained away the declaration as a reiteration of the Montagu Declaration of August 1917.

Motilal's reaction to Irwin's overture had not been completely hostile when the Delhi Manifesto was issued. But the debate in the British Parliament made it clear to him that the Viceroy's declaration had not made any substantive change in the attitude of the British Government towards the issue of constitutional progress in India. As a result of this, even though Motilal joined Gandhi and Sapru in a meeting with the Viceroy, on 23 December 1929, he had little reason to believe that anything would emerge out of such an exchange of views. The meeting between the Viceroy and the Indian leaders turned out to be completely abortive of results. The Mahatma was the principal spokesman from the Indian side, and he frankly told Irwin that the Congress would not participate in a round table conference, unless an assurance was given that the Conference was meeting to draft a constitution ensuring Dominion Status for India. The Mahatma's stand was reiterated by Motilal, who impressed upon the Viceroy that the political leaders of Great Britain needlessly "exaggerated the difficulties in the way of Dominion Status for India."[40] Irwin, on his part, made it clear that the terms of reference of the round table conference could not be redrawn to the satisfaction of the Congress leaders, although "it (the Conference) would have the fullest opportunity to discuss any proposals before it. . ."[41]

The meeting between Irwin and the Congress leaders had a distinct air

[39]All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement dated 2 November, 1929: *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XLII.

[40]*Record of a meeting held at the Viceroy's House on December 28, 1929*: made by Cunningham, P.S. to Lord Irwin, *Sapru Papers*.

[41]*Ibid.*

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of unreality about it. For despite the momentary hopes aroused by the viceregal declaration, it was clear to all perceptive observers, that the real decisions about India's future would be taken at the annual session of the Indian National Congress, which was due to meet in Lahore in the last week of December. The nature of these decisions had been largely foreshadowed by the deliberations in Calcutta, roughly a year earlier; and even more so by the election, at the initiative of the Mahatma and Motilal, of the youthful Jawaharlal as President of the Congress. Jawaharlal arrived at Lahore on 29 December, to preside over this crucial session, and as Motilal handed over charge to his son, he recited a Persian couplet—*Herche ke pidar natawanad, pesar tamam kunad* (what the father is unable to accomplish, the son achieves)—which turned out to be prophetic. Predictably, with Jawaharlal in charge, the Congress solemnly resolved to fight for *purna swaraj*, and the Mahatma was given overall control of the movement through which this nationalist objective was to be achieved. In supporting Jawaharlal and the younger generation of Congress leaders at Lahore, Motilal had finally rejected the view that the objectives of the struggle of freedom could be achieved through a political dialogue with the British Government. "I hope you will give me the credit of fully realising what it means to me and mine to throw my lot. . . in the coming struggle," he wrote to the Muslim leader, M.A. Ansari. "Nothing but a deep conviction that the time for the greatest effort and the greatest sacrifice has come would have induced me to expose myself at my age and with my physical disabilities, and with my family obligations to the tremendous risk I am incurring. I hear the clarion call of the country and I obey."[42] The reference to his physical disabilities was not without significance. For although Motilal plunged into the fray with his customary enthusiasm, his health was fast giving way, under the stresses and strains of a busy public life.

Shortly after the Lahore Congress, in March 1930, when the Mahatma decided to initiate civil disobedience through the Dandi March, Motilal and Jawaharlal travelled to the village of Jambosar in Gujarat, which was one of the intermediate stages of the march, to demonstrate their moral support for the salt satyagraha. On his return from Jambosar, Motilal had a medical check-up by Ansari, who was a very eminent physician. The results of this check-up were very alarming, and Ansari felt obliged to report the state of Motilal's health to the Mahatma. "I found Panditji's health in a very unsatisfactory condition this time. The continuous anxiety and strain which he has recently gone through, and his visit to you. . . had placed a further strain on his dilated heart. . . . (But) he has not been sparing himself and is determined not to spare himself in future. . . ."[43]

However, as anticipated by Ansari, Motilal was disinclined to let the state of his health become an issue at a time when the people of India, under the leadership of Gandhi, were engaged in a desperate struggle for freedom. All over the country, in cities, in towns and in the larger

[42] *MN Papers*: Motilal to Ansari dated 7 February, 1930.

[43] Ansari to Gandhi dated 30 March, 1930: quoted in Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 329.

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villages, the nationwide organisation of the Congress initiated a popular movement for civil disobedience, the like of which had not been seen before in the subcontinent. Along with the rest of the nation, the members of the Nehru household, too, were drawn into the activity of manufacturing salt and disobeying non-violently the laws of a Government which had lost all moral authority to rule over the country.

When the British Government was faced with the defiance of an entire nation under the leadership of Gandhi, and of the Nehrus, father and son, it lost little time in showing its repressive face to the people of India. The Mahatma was imprisoned on 5 May; and Jawaharlal, who had given a call to the rural masses of the United Provinces, was clamped into prison even earlier. Before his incarceration, Jawaharlal had appointed his father, frail in health, acting President of the Congress in his absence. He had also accepted from him Anand Bhawan, which was appropriately renamed Swaraj Bhawan, as a gift to the nation.

It, therefore, fell upon Motilal, as President of the Indian National Congress in the absence of his son, to lead the country in its grim battle against the British Government. Apart from directing political activities in Allahabad and in the United Provinces, Motilal was also involved in a number of organisations at the national level, of which the most important was the Boycott Committee, which made arrangements with the textile mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad for the boycott of foreign cloth. Given the repressive temper of the Government of Lord Irwin, it was a matter of time before Motilal, too, found himself behind prison bars. On 30 June 1930, he was arrested at Allahabad and joined his son in Naini prison.

Motilal and Jawaharlal found in prison life an ideal opportunity to come close to each other. Jawaharlal was disturbed to see how much his father had deteriorated in health, and nursed him with a degree of affection and care which deeply moved Motilal. "Hari (my personal servant) could well take a leaf out of Jawaharlal's book in the matter of serving me. From early morning tea to the time I retire for the night, I find everything I need in its proper place . . . . Jawaharlal anticipates everything and leaves nothing for me to do. I wish there were many fathers to boast of such sons,"[44] Motilal wrote at this time. Indeed, life in prison was a touching period of discovery for father and son, since within the walls of prison they could share experiences, and understand each other's point of view, in a manner which the demands of a busy public life had made it difficult earlier.

The community of feeling between Motilal and Jawaharlal is reflected most clearly of all in the extent to which the father shared, at this juncture, the political perception of his son. As we have indicated earlier, Motilal had hitherto believed that it was possible to work out a satisfactory arrangement of the political future of India with the British Government. But he now accepted Jawaharlal's position, namely, that freedom would come to India only through a bitter struggle with the British

[44]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 332.

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Government. The ambiguous phrasing of the Irwin Declaration of October 1929, and the position taken by the Viceroy in his meeting with the Indian leaders on the eve of the Lahore Congress, had finally persuaded Motilal that Jawaharlal's appraisal of the situation was much more realistic than the optimistic view which he had formerly taken of British motives. The hardening of Motilal's stance is clearly reflected in the outcome of the initiative taken by the Liberal leaders, Sapru and Jayakar, with encouragement from Irwin, to persuade the Congress leaders to make peace with the British Government. Both Motilal and Jawaharlal looked upon this move with considerable suspicion, and their attitude was instrumental in persuading the Mahatma, too, to take a tough line. As Jayakar, one of the mediators, recalled about the negotiations: "They (the Nehrus) practically said that they were the belligerent power which had very nearly succeeded in bending the British Government, and as such, all talk of a compromise must be with them directly, and on all essential points, leaving the R.T.C. (Round Table Conference) to regularise their decisions."[45]

Motilal, however, was not destined to struggle much longer for India's freedom. The serious state of his health became obvious even to the British, and he was released from prison on 11 September 1930 on grounds of ill-health. Immediately, thereafter, he travelled to the hill resort of Mussourrie in a bid to recover his strength. However, the strains and stresses of a busy public life had exacted a terrible toll. Motilal had always suffered from asthma, but his system was now plagued by a variety of ailments. In the middle of November, he went to Calcutta to take advantage of the medical facilities which were available there. An examination of his condition revealed the extent to which his system had been damaged by a combination of ailments. "The x-rays have revealed that the heart, the lungs and liver are all affected,"[46] he wrote to Allahabad. When Jawaharlal was released from prison in January 1931, he rushed to his ailing father's bedside, and was deeply shocked by his physical condition. "There he sat like an old lion mortally wounded and with his physical strength almost gone, but still very leonine and kingly . . . he was evidently often struggling with himself, trying to keep a grip of things which threatened to slip away from his grasp,"[47] he states in his *Autobiography*. Yet even then Jawaharlal did not sense the full seriousness of the situation. Motilal, however, had a premonition of what was to come. "I am going soon Mahatmaji," he told Gandhi, "and I shall not be there to see Swaraj. But I know that you have won it and shall soon have it."[48] Prophetic words! For not very long after Motilal had uttered them, on 6 July 1931, after a restless night during which Swarup Rani and Jawaharlal sat by his bedside, he breathed his last. His story of earthly achievements was over.

[45]Quoted in J. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 166.
[46]Nanda, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 337.
[47]*An Autobiography*, p. 246.
[48]*MN Papers:* Motilal to Gandhi dated January, 1931.

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VIII

How can one sum up a life so full of achievement, so rich in the range of its experiences, as the life of Motilal? Perhaps the best way to do so is to briefly recapitulate the three distinct phases of Motilal's career; first, as a lawyer of distinction; secondly, as a moderate nationalist engaged in a constitutional dialogue with the British rulers of India; and finally, as a militant nationalist, who followed the Mahatma as a principal lieutenant in those epic struggles of the 1920s, and the 1930s, which shook the edifice of the British Raj to its very foundations.

Motilal belonged to a scholarly family hailing from Kashmir which had settled in Delhi at a time when the Mughal Empire had entered a phase of decline. Notwithstanding the declining fortunes of their patrons, the ancestors of Motilal held offices of distinction at the Mughal Court, and were rewarded with a substantial *jagir* for their services. The acquisition of jagirdari status by the literati was not unusual in this period, though what may have marked out the Nehrus was the intellectual stature of the family, reflected most clearly of all in the scholarly eminence of Raj Kaul, the ancestor who had been persuaded by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar to migrate to Delhi.

The Uprising of 1857 was as much of a traumatic experience for the Nehrus as it was for the people of north India as a whole. However, what may have heightened the trauma for the Nehrus was the death of Gangadhar, the head of the family, at the relatively young age of thirty-four. Yet such moments of adversity often bring out the best in individuals whose moral fibre combines resilience with strength. The Nehrus, headed by a woman of great courage, stood the test of adversity exceedingly well, and they were able to re-establish themselves, first in Agra, where they had migrated immediately after 1857, then in Khetri, and finally in Allahabad.

An important feature about the Nehrus, at this juncture, was the transition which the family underwent from a traditional to a western culture. The story of Motilal's youth, his career as a student in Allahabad, and his professional life thereafter, bears witness to the success with which this transition was accomplished. Motilal acquired professional skills in law, and these skills enabled him to carve out a career of distinction for himself as a lawyer. Law, as we have indicated earlier, was a profession in which it was possible for young Indians of ability to make their mark in life. For the British had created a structure of government and property in the United Provinces, which offered opportunities to brilliant men in the legal profession to earn distinction for themselves. However, although Motilal's rise to success was facilitated by a favourable milieu, this should not blind us to the quality of his achievement in climbing to the very top of the legal profession. Apart from a favourable milieu, it was the incisive quality of Motilal's intellect, as well as his capacity for sheer hard work, which enabled him to gain recognition as a leading member of his profession in the country.

The transition, from a legal to a political career, came easily to men of distinction in Indian society in the closing decades of the nineteenth

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century. Motilal was for a while fully engaged in making a success of his professional career. But when he had climbed to the very top of the legal profession, he turned to public activity, initially in the domain of civic politics, and then in provincial politics, and finally in national politics.

Motilal's political views at this juncture were those of a nationalist who was also a moderate. Perhaps the climate in which these views were shaped needs a little elaboration. The British had created a political system in India which rested, on the one hand, upon modern bureaucratic and judicial institutions, and on the other, upon private property in land. Men like Motilal, with their deep knowledge of law and the principles of constitutional politics, were very well-equipped to understand the nature of these institutions, as well as the values which sustained them. Their legal training created in their consciousness a deep respect for the laws and institutions of a liberal and property owning society. As a result of all this, Motilal, when he initially turned to public activity, was not altogether without sympathy for the British Raj. He believed that the British were seeking to conjure into existence a liberal polity in India, and he, therefore, assumed that they would respond sympathetically to the growing consciousness of nationhood in the country.

However, Motilal's experience of the representative institutions created by the British, in 1909, proved to be quite different from what he had expected of a sensitive imperial system. Behind the rhetoric of liberalism, the British Raj emerged as a rigid system, clinging blindly to a position of privilege so far as imperial interests were concerned, and ready to take recourse to repressive policies in order to undermine the growing strength of nationalism in India. Motilal's alienation from the Raj, an alienation stemming from his changing perception of its character, is clearly reflected in the political stance which he adopted in the years after the First World War. By 1918, Motilal had grasped the exploitative character of British imperialism, and he parted company from his moderate friends, to join the rank of those nationalist leaders who were willing to wage a militant struggle against the British Government of India. The "frightfulness" of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, in 1919, merely heightened the perception which Motilal had already acquired of the character of British imperialism in India.

Motilal's decision to reject the moderate stance in politics did not automatically lead him to extend support to the Mahatma and the non-cooperation movement. The change from a radical nationalist, who had no illusions about the British Raj in India, to a satyagrahi, who actively dissociated himself from British institutions in pursuit of the Gandhian path to swaraj, was by no means an easy change for Motilal, since he was deeply influenced by the liberal political culture of Great Britain. This is a subject on which scholars have given us differing, if not conflicting, interpretations of Motilal's political behaviour. Our own assessment coincides with the assessment voiced by Jawaharlal in his *Autobiography*. For Motilal (as, indeed, for Jawaharlal), the only authentic expression of militant nationalism in India was the Gandhian weapon of satyagraha. No one, apart from the Mahatma, had shown how swaraj could be won. No other

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leader had achieved the same rapport with the rural masses which the Mahatma had achieved in a remarkably short span of time. Such considerations persuaded Motilal, despite the reservations which he may have entertained about the politics of satyagraha, that it was morally incumbent upon him to participate in the non-cooperation movement, and through such participation, seek to liberate India from foreign rule.

Yet Motilal's acceptance of the Mahatma, in 1920, was in all probability not as wholehearted as Jawaharlal's acceptance of this prophet of non-violence. Nothing reveals this as clearly as the alacrity with which Motilal took once again to legislative politics, after the collapse of non-cooperation in 1922, even if he did so to destroy the British Raj. The swarajist interlude is an episode to which historical scholarship has paid insufficient attention. However, this interlude constitutes a crucial chapter in the history of our struggle for freedom, for the swarajists made a valuable contribution to the nationalist cause. The suspension of civil disobedience, in 1922, by the Mahatma had left the nation in a very frustrated mood. The decision to do so came as an anti-climax to the heightening desire for freedom which had grown up between 1919 and 1922. Motilal drew into the Swarajist Party the growing sense of nationhood, which the Mahatma had conjured into existence during the non-cooperation movement. Even more, he was able to impart a new vitality to this consciousness, at a time when its frustration could have undone what had been achieved, at great sacrifice, in the preceding years. In the Central Legislature in New Delhi, as well as in the provincial legislatures, the Swaraj Party offered determined resistance to the British Government, and made it clear to them, that it was only a matter of time before the powerful impulse for freedom in the country would oblige them to quit India. Over and above all this, the leaders of the Swaraj Party learnt the art of parliamentary politics, in a manner which was to stand them in good stead later, in 1937, when the Congress participated in the provincial elections held under the Act of 1935, as well as in the decades after the attainment of independence in 1947.

Whatever be the achievements of the Swaraj Party, Motilal was quick to discern a decisive change in the popular mood towards the close of the 1920s. This change came about through a variety of reasons: through the resentment caused by the appointment of the Simon Commission; through the growing disaffection of the intelligentsia; and finally, through the discontent which the approach of a worldwide economic crisis spread through the cities as well as the villages of the subcontinent. It was clear to Motilal, that the militant mood of the people called for a renewed assault on British imperialism in India. In 1928, as in 1920, Motilal differed from Jawaharlal, as to the manner in which the popular mood could be harnessed to serve the cause of freedom. He looked upon the achievement of Dominion Status by India as a consummation which would safeguard her political and economic interests. In the constitution which Motilal devised about this time, he, therefore, recommended that the objective of Dominion Status be endorsed by all those who were involved in the struggle for freedom. However, when the younger generation of nationalists, led by

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Jawaharlal, made it clear to Motilal that they had set their hearts on complete independence, he had no hesitation in accepting a compromise, whereby the British Government was given the grace period of a year to confer Dominion Status on India, failing which a struggle for *purna swaraj* would be launched by the Congress. Indeed, as Motilal came to appreciate the growing strength of radical nationalism in India, he drew closer to Jawaharlal in his assessment of the political situation. This is clearly reflected in his stance towards the Irwin Declaration of October 1929; as it is also reflected in his role during the negotiations with Irwin, on the eve of the Lahore Congress, in December 1929. Indeed, in the closing years of his life, the conviction grew on Motilal that the British Government would not loosen its grip over India, unless it was compelled to do so by the organised strength of militant nationalism in the country. The support which Motilal extended to the demand for *purna swaraj* at the Lahore Congress, as well as the enthusiasm with which he participated in civil disobedience in 1930, bear witness to the extent to which he shared, at this juncture, the radical perception of British imperialism.

Motilal did not live to see the day when India became free. But the leading role which he played in politics, in the decade and slightly more after the First World War, ensured that British rule over India would be destroyed before long. That an individual who grew up as an admirer of British values and institutions, should have become an adversary of the Raj, speaks volumes of its exploitative character in India. It speaks equally forcefully of Motilal's love for his country; of his ability to outgrow the milieu in which he had achieved intellectual maturity and professional success; that he plunged into the struggle for freedom with a rare sense of commitment, and sacrificed everything which belonged to him in this struggle. When men like Motilal, who were so deeply influenced by the liberal political culture of Great Britain, turned against the British Raj, then its days in India were, indeed, numbered. For this reason, and also because of the distinguished leadership which he provided to the nationalist cause, Motilal occupies a position of lonely eminence in the history of the struggle for freedom in India.

RAVINDER KUMAR

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CORRESPONDENCE

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1. To Harrison Blair

[29 April 1899]

Dear Mr. Blair,[1]

Many thanks for your very kind invitation to breakfast. I am sorry my friend Mr. Jag[2] has in spite of his enlightened views on other subjects not yet been able to throw off caste.

I have of course no such prejudices and were I only sure of being in Allahabad tomorrow I should have considered it an honour and a pleasure to breakfast with you. As it is I am expecting to leave at a moment's notice on professional business and under the circumstances I trust, you will kindly excuse me.

My friend has not yet returned but I am expecting him this evening.

Sincerely yours
Motilal Nehru

2. To Bishan Narain Dhar

WATSON'S
ESPLANADE HOTEL

Bombay, 12.8.1899

Dear Bishan Narain,[3]

Allow me to introduce to you my friend Munshi Jagmohanlalji Member of the Khetri Council. You might have heard of the relations which have subsisted between Khetri and my family for a long time. I have from time to time been doing some work for Khetri and now that I am about to sail for England I must name some one as my substitute during my absence. I have pitched upon you & Durga Charan[4] as two of the fittest persons to do the work if necessary. Please give your best attention to Munshi Jagmohanlalji and the work he wants you to do.

Yours sincerely
Motilal Nehru

[1]Harrison Falkner Blair, b. 1838; called to the Bar, 1864; Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1892-1905.

[2]Munshi Jagmohanlal, b. 1864; Private Secretary to the Raja of Khetri; Member, Executive Council, Khetri State till the death of Raja Ajit Singh of Khetri in 1901; served Alwar State in various capacities, 1903-1918; d. 1921.

[3]Bishan Narain Dhar, b. 1846; President, U.P. Provincial Conference, Bareilly, 1911; President, Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1911; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1914; d. 1916.

[4]Durga Charan Banerji, a prominent lawyer of Allahabad; elected to the Senate Allahabad University, 1903; Member, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 1907.

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3. To Raja of Khetri

S.S. Arabia
Aden in Sight
August 17th 1899

Your Highness,[1]

Just a line to inform you that I have survived the terrors of the Arabian Sea and am now preparing to go through the horrors of the Red Sea. The monsoon though a weak one was altogether too much for me. I was very bad for two days and not very well the rest of the voyage from Bombay. I am therefore sorry I have not been able to do any work for Your Highness. I do feel that the 6 months time we have asked for is a little too much. I think I will be able to send Your Highness some substantial production before I get to Marseilles provided of course the sea behaves itself properly. In any case if Your Highness takes even three months time or say till the return of the Resident[2] from leave which I understand is 2 months from the 1st Septr. it will give us time to settle our reply.

Hoping Your Highness is enjoying excellent health.

Yours obediently
Motilal Nehru

4. To Jagmohanlal

Argyll House,
Castletown Road,
West Kensington. W.

London
Septr 8th 1899

Dear Munshi Jagmohanlalji,

Thanks for your letter of the 18th August enclosing an introduction from His Highness to General Brynon. I have not yet made use of the introductions His Highness was so kind as to favour me with as I have all along been in London & the people I have been introduced to are all out of town.

I am going to Scotland next week for a fortnight and I expect to find people in their London houses on my return when I shall see them all.

[1]Raja Ajit Singh of Khetri State, b. 1861; installed as ruler in 1871; d. 1901.
Khetri was a feudatory state of Jaipur. Motilal Nehru went to England in 1899 to plead the case of Khetri in a dispute with Jaipur Durbar.

[2]Colonel Bradford, Edward Redley Colborne, b. 1836; Resident and Governor-General's Agent for Rajputana and Chief Commissioner, Ajmer; d. 1911.

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My friend Sir John Edge[1] personally took me to some of the other members of the India Council[2] but they were all out of town. I have only been 10 days in London & have not been able to do much.

I hope you have received the letters I sent from board ship on my outward journey. I quite see the force of the alteration made by His Highness in the draft I made at Bombay. So far as Kot Putli is concerned I do not think we should on any account give in. As I told you at Bombay I begin to doubt the friendship of the gentleman you rely so much upon and would warn you against conceding any important point simply to please him.

Please convey my respects to His Highness and tell him that I am doing very well.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

5. To Jagmohanlal

THE FIRST AVENUE HOTEL
HIGH HOLBORN

LONDON, W.C. Octr. 6th. 1899

Dear Jagmohanlalji,

Thanks for your letter received by the last mail and the full account of the talk with the A.G.G. and the Resident. I am very glad to see that H.H. maintained a bold front throughout. Indeed I must confess that from what has transpired lately I am beginning to doubt the motives of the Residents. He is certainly not so sweet on us as he appears to be. Why should he go out of his way to induce H.H. to return to Jeypore?

I sent complete notes for the reply to the Resident about his draft rules from Port Said and I am surprised to see you did not receive them up to the time you wrote last. Similar complaints have reached me from Allahabad of non-receipt of letters. I think my letters could not catch the proper steamer. They must have reached sooner or later. The Post arrangements are so perfect that I cannot believe they have miscarried.

I would strongly advise a continuation of the present bold policy of H.H. No concession should on any account be made so far as Kot Putli is concerned and as for Khetri proper the notes I have sent would indicate the outside limit of what we are prepared to concede. If any of our powers

[1]b. 1841; Chief Justice of High Court, N.W.P., 1886-98; d. 1926.

[2]The India Council was set up by the British Government to assist and advise the Secretary of State for India on Indian affairs soon after the Queen's Proclamation, 1858. The Council, entirely composed of British members, was based in England but was maintained by the Indian Exchequer. This became a subject of controversy later and the Indian National Congress demanded adequate representation of Indians in the Council.

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are taken away let it at least not be said of us that we willingly gave them away. We can always fight if we are not actually consenting parties.

I returned from Scotland on the 1st Inst and am now going about to see people. I have sent some of the introductory letters (H.H. was pleased to send through you) by post to the persons concerned but have only received a reply from Dr. Lennox Browne[1] who has fixed Monday next for our meeting. He had mentioned two days: Today and Monday but I could not see him today as I had to write a number of letters to India (today being the mail day). I am afraid some of the people have not yet returned to town but I am sure to see them all as I will be in London for nearly the whole month.

Please give my respects to H.H.

Yours sincerely
Motilal Nehru

6. To Jagmohanlal

THE FIRST AVENUE HOTEL
HIGH HOLBORN,
LONDON, W.C.

Octr. 22nd. 1899

Dear Jagmohanlalji,

I have not received any letter from you for the last two or three mails and have myself been so busy that I could not write. The time for my return is now drawing near and it is for the first time in my life that I feel it is not an unmixed pleasure to return home from a country like England. It is not the pleasures with which this country abounds that makes me regret leaving it but the idea that I have not seen one tenth of what is to be seen in London alone (to say nothing of the other great cities of this small Island) prevents me from feeling that whole hearted happiness which I would otherwise have felt at the prospect of being once more among my own people. The forces which draw me towards my own native land are however far stronger than any curiosity to see other persons and things and I must yield to them by leaving the shores of England by the end of this month. I am booked via Brindisi by the steamer which leaves that port on the 12th. Nov. and I propose passing the interval on the continent.

By a lucky chance I managed to meet the Raj Kumar Saheb of Shahpura[2] just when he was about to start on his homeward passage. He did not of course know me but it was easy enough for me to make myself known to him. He is a very amiable prince and I was very glad to make his

[1]A prominent throat specialist in England.
[2]Prince Umed Singh, son of Raja Ajit Singh of Khetri State.

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acquaintance.

I have not been able to catch all the people for whom I had introductions from His Highness as most of them have not returned to town yet, but I have seen a good number of them. Sir G. Seymour Fitzgerald[1] has been of great use to me in getting orders for me to see the House of Lords on the opening day ceremony and other places of interest. Sir W. Lee Warner[2] is a dry as dust old Anglo-Indian and did not know what to talk about except the Indian National Congress which come in for a large share of abuse.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree[3] is the next personage I saw. I was much pleased with him and we had a long talk about the troubles of Khetri. The interest he showed emboldened me to present him with a copy of the Note and although Parliament is sitting he took the trouble to read it. He thought I had got it drawn up by Sir Edward Clarke[4] the great Advocate-General of England and considered it impossible for any native to write it. I must confess my weakness when I say that I did feel flattered for a time. However he has given some very valuable advice and is decidedly of opinion that if Khetri ever can hope to strike with effect this is the time to do so. He did not like our omitting to ask plainly what we wanted and strongly urged the necessity of our coming forward with our claims. I had some three meetings of upwards of two hours each with him and the sole topic of discussion was Khetri. I cannot give you the full details of those meetings but the result was that we agreed that a memorial be drafted to the Govt. of India and the "note" be made an appendix of it. This memorial should be presented to the Resident with the request that it may be forwarded. The new rules which Jeypore wishes to impose upon us through the Resident (and which I hope have not been consented to by H.H.) afford a capital opportunity for our representation. I think Sir Mancherjee is perfectly right and I am so sure of H.H. approving of the suggestion that I am actually going to draft the Memorial on my passage home. I will see Sir Mancherjee again once or twice before I leave.

I have also seen General Low[5] and strange to say he is exactly of the same opinion as Sir Mancherjee is. Both of them agree with me in thinking that the Resident is not so disinterested a friend of Khetri as H.H. takes him to be. The Rules proposed by him show the contrary. In any case we cannot sell ourselves to remain in the good books of the Resident. A copy of the Note has been given to General Low also who was quite profuse in unmerited compliments to the writer. He is a hearty old man. When he came to receive me on the ship he said

[1]b. 1841; was A.D.C. to the Secretary of State for India in 1874; d. 1910.

[2]b. 1846; Chief Commissioner of Coorg and Resident of Mysore, 1895; Secretary, Political Department in India Office, 1895-1902; well-known author notably on Princely States in India; d. 1914.

[3]b. 1851; Agent at Bombay for Bhavnagar State, 1873; Member, House of Commons, 1895-1906; d. 1933.

[4]b. 1841; M.P., 1880; Solicitor-General, 1886-92; d. 1931.

[5]General Robert Cunliffe Low, b. 1838; served during the Indian Mutiny, 1857; in Afghan War, 1879-80; commanded the forces in Bombay, 1898-1903; d. 1911.

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آیئے پنڈت صاحب ۔ مزاج شریف ۔ ہمارے مشفق راجہ صاحب کھیتری کا مزاج کیسا ہے۔

and then we lapsed into the inevitable English.

I wrote to Munshi Abdul Karim but he is still at Balmozal with Her Majesty and his reply shows that I cannot see him as he will not be back till long after I have left England.

I am extremely sorry to say that I have lost the letter of introduction to Mr. Powlett[1] (if I am not mistaken) at Surrey. I am not even sure of his name and address. That letter was received by post here and therefore the address is not in my note book or I would have seen him without any introduction. It is very unfortunate and I will never excuse myself for my carelessness. The fact is that for the first time in my life I am travelling unattended and the result is that I leave some useful thing or other every where I go. Some are forwarded to me by post, others are not heard of again.

These are all the people I have seen through H.H.'s introduction. Others are not in town.

I have of course seen other people besides these and have made some friends among the nobility and gentry of England but have not been able to do much in that direction as it is a very bad time of the year to see any body. London is out of season and all the big people are out.

Besides the War is the all absorbing topic of the day and no one cares to listen to anything else.

I am afraid some part of H.H.'s territories must be affected by the famine. This is the time to enlist the sympathy of the Government by a judicious and liberal administration of relief to the famine stricken subjects of Khetri. Khetri after all is not a very large place or very densely populated either. Show to the Government what you can do—open relief works. Let the state advance as much money as it can and emulate private charity by honouring those who liberally contribute to the famine funds. Make it a model area while it is suffering.

I hope to see you soon after my return.

Please give my respects to H.H.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely
Motilal Nehru

[1]Percy William Powlett, b. 1837; Assistant to Governor-General's Agent, Rajputana, 1868-72; Political Agent and Resident of Western Rajputana, 1880-92; d. 1910.

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7. *To Pirthinath Chak*

Strictly Private & Confidential

Allahabad
Decr. 22/99

Dear Pirthi Nath,[1]

I write to you about the *biradri*[2] question on account of the many absurd rumours which have reached me.

The policy which I had intended to adopt and have actually adopted since my return from England was one of complete unobtrusiveness. I came back quietly and joined my family circle without making the least attempt either to invite any opinions or to thrust myself upon others. In the natural course of things all recollection of my visit to Europe and the social disabilities (if any) flowing from it would soon have been forgotten if I had only been left alone. It has however pleased my dear, affectionate, and old friend and admirer Mr. Hirday Narain to make it his special business to annoy me and precipitate matters. He is of course quite at liberty to do so as he is one of those people who rush in where angels fear to tread. My only object in writing to you is to warn you against the recurrence of the same unpleasant state of things which occurred when I was at Cawnpore and lasted for so many years without the least cause for it. Whatever the issue of Mr. Hirday Narain's efforts to create difficulties may be (and I may tell you that I am fully prepared for every emergency) I wish to goodness that the mutual love and regard which has subsisted between us may not be allowed to suffer. By this I do not wish to influence you in any way in making up your mind one way or the other. You may do as you please without committing yourself so far as to lose the respect and esteem I have always entertained for you.

As for the question itself my mind is finally and irrevokably made up. I *will not* (come what may) indulge in the tom-foolery of *Praschit*.[3] No, never—even if I die for it. I have been provoked and have been rudely dragged from my seclusion into public notice. But my enemies will find me a very hard nut to crack. I know what your *biradari* is and if necessary in self defence I will ruthlessly and mercilessly lay bare the tottered fabric of its existence and tear it into the minutest possible shreds. I am only waiting for some foeman worthy of my steel to take the field and will then be ready to break a lance with him. If any one thinks that I will be cowed down by impotent threats he is sadly mistaken. So long as Hirday Narain and others of his ilk howl and bark I will pass them by with the

[1]b. 1858; a leading lawyer of Kanpur. Motilal Nehru had embarked on his career as a lawyer under him in 1883; d. 1910.

[2]Community.

[3]Purification ceremony, in this case for caste violation. Motilal Nehru had visited Europe in 1899. Foreign travel was then a taboo among the high caste Hindus and Brahmins in particular. Motilal was asked to perform purification ceremony; he refused.

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most stolid indifference and contemptuous silence.

I am afraid however the question will be brought to the fore at the ensuing wedding at Cawnpore. I wish to meet you before it comes off and we can then settle what our line of action will be. Before meeting and discussing the situation with me I wish you will not commit yourself to any view. Let me know when you return from Congress and I will go to Cawnpore for a few hours.

Yours sincerely
(sd) Motilal Nehru

To Jagmohanlal

MOTILAL NEHRU,
ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT,
N.W.P.

Allahabad.
18-3-1900

Dear Munshi Jagmohanlalji,

I am in receipt of three long letters from you and am very sorry have not been able either to reply to them or to draft what you call "the much needed covering letter". I have been engaged on a very big case, the file of which you once saw, ever since the 26th February last. The case is still going on and although I could ill spare a single moment I feel bound to redeem the promise I made of writing to you during the Holi holidays.

As regards your famine operations proving a fiasco at the last visit of the Resident, you will remember that it was with considerable hesitation that at your repeated request I consented to put in a glowing account of them. All I have said at pages 40 and 41 will not only fall flat now but might occasion some severe comments from the Resident. It will however be much too expensive to re-print the whole memorial after expunging the objectionable portion. The only remedy that I see is to append an explanatory note stating the real circumstances of the case, that is to say that advantage was taken by the subordinate officials of the chiefship of the serious indisposition of His Highness who was even before his illness kept in the dark as to the actual state of things by systematic misrepresentations. If however you do not mind the expense and the delay of reprinting the whole thing it will not be necessary to contradict what has been deliberately given prominence to in an important part of the document.

2. The reference to rule 9 made in rule 19 at page 78 is a mistake. It ought to be corrected in red ink by the substitution of the figure 17 for the figure 9 in the proviso to rule 19. Rule 17 of the memorial is the same as rule 9 of the printed draft given to the resident sometime ago.

3. The provisos to rule 8 are governed by the rule itself and it was not

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considered necessary to add the words "through the Khetri Vakil" in the first proviso as those words already occur in the rule itself. If however His Highness thinks the omission will be liable to misconception the said words may be inserted in red ink after the word "Nazim."

4. The allusion to Famine Relief operations made at page 56 is not open to any objection as it refers to the part taken by H.H. himself in the direction of those operations. The defects found by the Resident lie not in the directions given by H.H., but in the manner in which those directions have been carried out by the sub-officials of the chiefship. After what the Resident had seen on the spot the objectionable portion of the memorial is that to be found at pages 40 and 41 which I wish had never been written. The explanatory note I have referred to above can however be so drafted as to leave the smallest possible room for objection.

5. I only sent copies of the memorial to you, the other papers are still with me and are taken every care of. I kept them as I thought I might have to refer to them while drafting the covering letter.

6. The subscription at the bottom of the memorial is perfectly right. The word "friend" used there does not indicate equality of position with the addressee. When in England I saw a volume of memorials addressed by the various native Chiefs to the Government of India from time to time I found that those written on behalf of very small Chiefs were so subscribed. The volume was shown to me by Sir M.M. Bhownagree who told me that that was the proper form of subscription and that expressions of humility were quite out of place. The word friend conveys an idea of loyalty and not equality.

7. The omission of "sutee" from the list of offences excepted from the operation of rule I is certainly a mistake. You may add it as number 7 "abetment of sutee".

8. There is no difference in what you call "the tone" adopted in the middle of page 64 and that at the bottom of page 74. The latter means to ask as the last resort the adoption of the altered rules should the Government of India not see fit to allow the prayer of the memorial and withdraw Jaipur jurisdiction altogether.

9. On the subject of the loan I do not see any harm if it is taken from Jaipur through the Resident on an entirely separate account from that which is disputed. The mere act of borrowing from Jaipur does not involve an admission of a disputed account. The loan transaction must be made on definite terms as to re-payment etc. which have nothing whatever to do with settlement of the old account.

10. I have not yet been able to fix upon a retired Revenue officer for Khetri but am on the lookout for one, and as soon as I am in a position to make up my mind I will let you know. I know of some very honest and competent people but I am afraid their terms will be high and they will probably not care for a temporary employment.

I now come to your letter of the 9th instant.

11. I see nothing objectionable or inconsistent in the observation on rule 3 at page 65 and rule 3 as altered at page 75. In fact all the altered rules are on the basis of an amicable settlement but as we consider that

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impossible a hint is thrown out in the last paragraph at page 74 that the Government of India, if not inclined to give us all we want, may atleast sanction the alterations proposed by us.

12. The Resident's proposal about an asylum for the poor is a very good one and Khetri should heartily cooperate in putting the institution on a firm basis.

13. I am sorry I am very hard pressed for time which I have to give entirely to a single case. I have had to close my doors against all other clients. This case is expected to be finished in 3 or 4 days. I will then dispose of some accumulated work and write the covering letter in which I hope to explain every thing in the memorial or its appendices requiring an explanation. As for H.H.'s fear of displeasing the Resident and the A.G.G. by memorialising Lord Curzon[1] I do not see there is any foundation for it. I will however bear this in mind in drafting the covering letter by flattering both the Resident and the A.G.G. as much as I can. You must however give me at least 10 days time to do so.

14. Thanks for your kind enquiries. My wife and other members of the family are doing very well. I think you showed me a telegram from H.H. asking certain particulars about a horse for Jawaharlal. I understand now that you said something to Munshi Mubarak Ali[2] which gave him the impression that a suitable horse had been found and was being trained. Please let me know if this is so. Jawaharlal has nearly forgotten all he learnt of riding and I feel he must have a horse at once.

15. You must have received my type-written letter about the Exhibition business. It is promising very well indeed. They want more men than I have collected and I have accordingly sent Maharaj Bahadur to Calcutta to engage some acrobats. French India has also been included in our business so far as the shows are concerned. I am told there is a very clever *Beenkar*[3] playing on the *Been*[4] in the employ of H.H. I will be glad if H.H. permits him to go to Paris for a few months. Please obtain H.H.'s permission and send the *Beenkar* after settling his monthly salary. He will get all expenses besides the salary so settled.

As for *Jhoouta Pahalwan*[5] I do not exactly know what his qualifications are but if you think he is passable you may send him here. If not approved he will be paid his expenses to Allahabad and back.

The male goat which gives milk is no doubt a curiosity but the question is whether he would continue to give milk for any length of time. It may be that before it reaches Paris it ceases to give milk. If you think it will not you may send it.

The whole party must leave by the steamer which sails from Bombay on

[1]George Nathaniel, first Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, b. 1859; elected Conservative M.P., 1886; Under-Secretary for India, 1891-92; Viceroy of India, 1899-1905; Lord-President of the Council and member of the War Cabinet, 1916-18; Foreign Secretary, 1919-24; d. 1925.

[2]Pandit Motilal Nehru's old clerk.

[3]Flute-player.

[4]Flute.

[5]Wrestler.

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the 12th April and I must engage passages as soon as possible. Whatever you have to send please send at once. I particularly want the *Beenkar*. Please tell him that he will be in a company of his own as I have engaged 5 or 6 other musicians who know him very well and at whose suggestion I have written to you for him. I have not yet been able to get a good juggler or conjuror. If there is any in that part of the country worth sending to Paris, please engage his services.

Please give my respects to His Highness and the Raj Kumar Saheb of Shahpura.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

P.S. I dictated this letter on 17th Inst. to Mohanlal[1] who has taken all this time to typewrite it. Received your letter intimating H.H.'s sanction to the increased contribution to the shares of the Paris business. If the Calcutta Seths send the money well & good. If not you need not be anxious. I will manage it. I only wanted H.H.'s sanction, which I have now obtained.

I am also very glad indeed to receive H.H.'s telegram which I have just replied. I believe you will be going with H.H. I am directing this to Rewari. Should you not be with H.H. I hope he will open this.

Please send *Jhoouta Pahalwan* and the *Beenkar* without fail. Time is very short.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru

P.P.S. To be on the safe side I address the cover to H.H. at Rewari.

9. To Sundarlal

Moti Mahal
Lucknow
25.9.04

Dear Pandit,[2]

The patient about whom I wrote to you last passed away peacefully on the evening of the 19th Inst. I have been so upset since that I could not

[1]Mohanlal Nehru, b. 1877; son of Nandlal Nehru and nephew of Motilal Nehru; Manager, *Independent*; d. 1959.

[2]Pandit, later Sir, Sundarlal Dave, b. 1857; Member, U.P. Council, 1895; Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, 1909; Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1914; Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, 1906-08 and 1912-16; Member, Imperial Council, 1915; Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, 1916-18; d. 1918.

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write any letters. I have today written to Justices Knox[1] & Banerji[2] and will let you know what replies I receive from them. I have asked Knox to propose you and have told him that on hearing from him I will ask Burkitt[3] to second. Gyanendra[4] went to Allahabad the other day to attend a meeting of the Syndicate and he took the opportunity to talk to Thibaut[5] about your candidature. He said that he could not *at that moment* think of a more suitable man to elect on behalf of the University. The words I have underlined are not very satisfactory and Gyanendra and I have been discussing the chances of certain others who may come forward. There seems to be only one danger ahead & that is my very dear friend Sir Walter. He is however out of the country and if we can secure Knox & Co. before he returns it will be a very good thing indeed. I am anxiously waiting for Knox's reply.

The Amethi case has developed some new phases & I cannot go to Allahabad at once. I will do so some time next week. In haste.

Yours sincerely
Motilal Nehru

10. To Sundarlal

Moti Mahal
Lucknow
26.9.04

Dear Pandit,

Yours to hand. I enclose Knox's & Banerji's replies. I think it is all right. Dr. Thibaut is not at all likely to contest the vacancy with you. I will now do the needful.

I also enclose a letter from Raja Ram for your edification. They want to pit me against the great Malaviya.[6] I have neither the inclination nor

[1]George Edward Knox, Assistant Magistrate and Collector, 1867; District and Sessions Judge, 1884; Legal Remembrancer, 1887; Judge, High Court, NWP, 1890; officiated as Chief Justice, 1898-99.

[2]Pramoda Charan Banerji, b. 1848; Advocate, High Court, Calcutta; appointed Judge, High Court, Allahabad, 1893; d. 1930.

[3]William John Dwyer Burkitt, entered Indian Civil Service, 1891; served in United Provinces; appointed Registrar, High Court, 1905; District and Sessions Judge, 1911.

[4]Dr. Gyanendranath Chakravarti, a theosophist and friend of Motilal Nehru; held the Chair of Mathematics at Allahabad University; Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, 1920-26; d. 1936.

[5]George Frederick William Thibaut, b. 1848; Prof. Calcutta University; Principal, Anglo-Sanskrit Benares College, 1879-88; Principal, Muir Central College, Allahabad, 1895; Registrar, Calcutta University, 1907; d. 1914.

[6]Madan Mohan Malaviya, b. 1861; founded and edited *Hindustan*, 1887-89; *The Indian Union*, 1889-92; the *Abhyudaya*, 1907-09; eminent lawyer and politician; President, Indian National Congress, 1909, 1918, 1933; founded Banaras Hindu

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the courage to fight. Indeed my time has not yet come and Malaviya is the right man in the right place. Master Ramnath will I am afraid give him some trouble. I think Raja's letter means that Ramnath intends to stand but I do not think he has a ghost of a chance.

I do not quite understand what Banerji means by the sentence I have underlined in his letter. Let me have your interpretation of it.

I am glad to hear that Lakshmichand is doing well. I will go to Allahabad during the first week of October.

Yours sincerely
Motilal Nehru

11. To Brajlal Nehru[1]

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
April 6th, 1905

My dear Brajlal,

I write after a long time to give you the welcome news that I sail with wife,[2] Jawaharlal and Nanni[3] from Bombay on the 13th May by the Macedonia (P. & O.). The rumours of my intended visit to Europe have been afloat for some time past and have already reached you but as there were many a slip between the cup and lip and I was by no means sure that something or other would not happen to prevent or at least delay our departure I did not write earlier. I have now secured the passages and nothing but serious accidents will keep me back. I am suffering from nervous prostration, the natural consequence of 5 years hard incessant work without any rest. My programme is that I proceed straight to London from Marseilles and settle further movements there. There are two things I have to do in London. 1st. Put Jawaharlal in a school. 2nd. Consult some specialists about the proper treatment and the most suitable

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University and later held the office of Vice-Chancellor, 1919-39; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-20; presided over Hindu Mahasabha Sessions 1923, 1924 and 1926; Member, Legislative Assembly, 1924-30; founded the Nationalist Party in 1926; d. 1946.

[1]b. 1884; son of Nandlal and nephew of Motilal Nehru; ed. Oxford; served in the Indian Finance Department; retired, 1939; d. 1965.

[2]Swarup Rani Nehru, b. 1868; wife of Motilal Nehru; took part in the Civil Disobedience movement, 1930-32; arrested in 1933 while on her way to attend the Congress session at Calcutta; d. 1938.

[3]Nanni/Nanie/Nan, pet name of Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, b. 1900; daughter of Motilal Nehru; m. R.S. Pandit, 1921; participated in the Indian struggle for freedom; imprisoned several times; Minister, U.P., 1937-39 and 1945-46; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946; India's Ambassador to U.S.S.R., 1947-49; to U.S.A., 1949-52; President, United Nations General Assembly, 1953-54; Indian High Commissioner to U.K., 1954-61; Governor of Maharashtra, 1962-64.

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watering place for wife. If you have the time collect all the information you can on these two points.

As regards Jawaharlal I am still in the dark as to the school where he has to go. All the well-known schools have no vacancies and one has to do the best he can. I am sorry I have delayed Jawaharlal's visit to England for long. You are however in touch with the leading educational authorities and institutions and will be able to give material assistance . . . .

The Macedonia is due at Marseilles about the 27th May. If you write at once there is just time to receive your reply before we leave. Please let me know if you can meet us anywhere in France. If you can we will not travel by the P. & O. Express but take it easy by stopping at the place where you meet us.

I had half a mind to take Rammo[1] with us, but on reconsideration I have decided not to do so at present. While Jawaharlal is in Europe our visits will be more frequent than they have been and Rammo will come on some future occasion when you have done with the serious part of your work. My idea is to leave her with you during the last year of your stay in England so that you may both come out together and Rammo may become perfectly polished. So far as book knowledge goes I think she can hold her own against any English girl of her age, but she does want some training in the many little things which are necessary to soften and shake off the dust of book-lore and bring out the natural polish of the mind.

(Incomplete)

12. To Jawahar

HOTEL METROPOLE
BRUXELLES
July 26th, '05

Dear Jawahar,

We arrived here safe last night and received your letter this morning. I did not call for any letters at Ostende as I did not expect any, having told you to write here. We are glad to learn you are all right and nothing would be more comforting to us than to hear from you to the same effect every morning.

We have come here in good time. The national fetes are on. It is a most beautiful city and at present is most beautifully decorated. We propose to stay here till day after tomorrow when we leave for Cologne. Nanni enjoyed Ostende better as she was always busy digging sand on the beach

[1]Rameshwari Nehru, b. 1886; daughter of Raja Narendra Nath, m. Brajlal Nehru; edited *Istri Darpan*; Social Secretary, All India Women's Conference; President, London Committee of Indian Women's Association; President of Women's Committee of the Indian League, 1931-33; recipient of Lenin Peace Prize, 1961; d. 1966.

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& washing her bare feet in sea water.

Brajlal speaks of the "extraordinary behaviour of Miss Nichole" after we left but says nothing more referring to your letter for a description of that behaviour. I find none in your letter and am curious to know what it was? I hope to receive another letter from you tomorrow.

I am collecting postcards for you.

With love

Your affectionate
Papa

13. To Jawahar

Dom Hotel
Koln Domplatz
Cologne.
July 29th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

We have just arrived here, having left Brussels this afternoon. I did not call at the Post-office yesterday at Brussels as I did not expect any letters. Today, just before starting I thought I may just as well see if any belated letters were lying at the Post-office and I was glad that I did go. Your postcard to Nanni and letters to your mother and myself were handed to me. I was not a little concerned to read your letter to me. Why should every one at the vicarage have fever? I hope it is not influenza in the infectious form. You say you had a loose motion. That signifies nothing, but I am glad you did not tell your mother about these things or she would have fretted a great deal. I am sure to receive some letters from you tomorrow which will remove all anxiety. Meanwhile I am looking for the morning with impatience to have some good news of you. You say you would be better pleased with letters than with postcards. I did send you at least two letters from Ostende & Brussels. You know how lazy I am in writing letters but I expect I shall not be quite so lazy in writing to you though you must always understand that my silence does not necessarily forebode evil.

Isn't this a funny name for a Hotel. The only recommendation is that everyone talks English.

We could not see half of the numerous picturesque sights of Brussels although we prolonged our stay there by a day. As I have already told you, your mother took to English dress just before leaving Ostende and as was to be expected many little things were found wanting. We had therefore to do a little shopping at Brussels and you know what a waste of time it means. We have however been able to form a fair general idea of the town and its lovely surroundings. The place I was most charmed with was the *Bois de la Cambre*. It is an artificial forest like the *Bois de Bologne* of

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Paris and if anything lovelier than its original.

We have now come to the city about which the poet Coleridge[1] is supposed to have uttered the grossest libel when he wrote the following lines:

"In Coln, that town of monks and bones,
"And pavements fanged with murderous stones,
"And rags and hags and hideous wenches,
"I counted two and seventy stenches!
"All well defined and genuine stinks!
"Ye nymphs! That reign o'er sewers and sinks,
"The river Rhine, it is well known,
"Doth wash the city of Cologne;
"But tell me, nymphs, what power divine
"Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine."

We have to verify this tomorrow.

You will see that I have begun sightseeing in earnest—reading something about the places I see. I do not however know what is happening in the outside world as I get no English papers to read. Do send me the *Pioneer Mail* to Homburg. I never instructed Cook to send it to you. They don't pay any attention to initials.

I am glad you have been able to answer the test questions of Harrow but you must answer many hundreds of these before you can be quite safe. Please remember Dr. Wood's[2] direction and get up the books he recommended as thoroughly as you can. I am quite sure you will soon master them. Keep me informed of the progress you make.

We should leave Cologne sometime day after tomorrow according to the original programme but if there is anything worth seeing which we cannot see we may spend another day here.

Nanni wants to go back to Ostende as she cannot get any sand to dig so far in the interior. She is quite happy and has carefully preserved your postcard, asking me to go about town tomorrow & find her the loveliest postcard in the city to send to you. Love from all & from.

Your affectionate
Father

[1]Samuel Taylor Coleridge, b. 1772; English poet, critic and amateur philosopher. Wordsworth and Coleridge published in 1798 *Lyrical Ballads* considered as a foremost work of nineteenth century romanticism; d. 1834.

[2]Rev. Joseph Wood, b. 1842; Headmaster of the school at Harrow when Jawaharlal was student; d. 1921.

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14. To Jawahar

Dom Hotel
Koln Domplatz: July 30th, 1905

Dear Jawahar,

I called at the post-office today with Nanni and both of us were highly gratified to receive something from you. Nanni has been looking through many hundred pictorial postcards but does not consider any of them good enough to send you. She will have to make her choice from among those I have bought later on in the evening and I hope you will get one from her by the same post as this letter.

I am delighted to hear that you have got over your attack of diarrhoea & hope you are hale & hearty.

We have spent the day in seeing the sights of Cologne. It is a beautiful city. Coleridge might have had some justification for the lines be wrote in his own time. The Cologne of today is quite different. Out of the "two and seventy stenches" I have not come across one. He is however right about the pavements. They do consist of "murderous stones". The rattling of carriages produces a terrific noise the stones being laid on edge & being of uneven surface.

I have received another form from Harrow to fill up. They want me to state categorically what diseases you have suffered from from the date of your birth. I will fill it up tonight & send it off.

With love

Your affectionate
Father

We stop here tomorrow and leave for Homburg on Tuesday morning at 10 arriving there at 3 p.m. the same day. Nanni continues to be universally admired. An old lady and gentleman who had finished their dinner when we went in & stayed all the time we were at dinner admiring little *Moshket's* quaint freaks. I have written to Brajlal and have asked him to send my letter on to you as I have said many things there about which I have not written to you.

15. To Jawahar

Grand Hotel
Bad Homburg
August 3rd., 1905.

Dear Jawaharlal,

Your telegram & letter. I wrote a long letter to you night before last but have mislaid it— & could not write yesterday. We had had no letter

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from you for the last two days of our stay at Cologne and naturally became anxious when we found none were awaiting our arrival here. It is all right now that we have heard from you.

This is a very quiet nice little place. We have begun the treatment today. The springs are within 10 minutes easy walk of our Hotel. I got up at 6 this morning, was dressed & ready at 7 and glass in hand proceeded to the spring prescribed for me (The Elizabeth). I met hundreds of ladies & gentlemen glass in hand going to the various springs. After sipping two glasses of the water which tasted much like Soda water I came back to the hotel. . . .Breakfast consisting of weak tea, bread, butter & eggs followed. An hour after I went to the Kaiser-Wilhelmshed, had an inhalation of another spring water (Ludwig) and a carbonic acid bath thereafter. I then rested in a long chair for an hour as directed. The last operation was lunch on fish and chicken cooked *naturale* as they call it here—viz. simply boiled. I am to have nothing but fish, chicken and mutton all cooked *naturale* no wine or spirits. After tea I have to go to another spring and drink one glass of its water.

Wife & Nanni too have had their drinks of Ludwig water which I brought for them. Wife is to have her baths from tomorrow. Nanni will have no mineral water baths.

We must stop here for three weeks from today. I am sure we will improve immensely before the three weeks are over.

I have not bought any postcards yet but will do so tomorrow. I am writing my Indian mail today.

I am very glad to hear that you will be able to do your Latin and arithmetic thoroughly before your exam. I have not yet written to anyone of the London people but will do so tomorrow.

Your affectionate
Father

In addressing letters always say "Homburg V.D. Hohe" or " Homburg par Francfurt". The former you will find printed on the heading of this paper as well as on the cover. It means "Homburg on the height". There are several Homburgs in Germany and it is always safe to add the distinguishing words.

16. To Jawahar

Grand Hotel
Bad Homburg
August 5th, 1905.

My dear Jawahar,

It is now 7-45 p.m. and no telegram from Brajlal. . . .

I have nothing to say except that we are all right. Life here is

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monotonous inspite of the town having supplied a number of amusements. The chief of these is what they call a very good concert, but I have no taste for it. It was a dark gloomy day today and I spent it in practising on the camera without of course exposing the films.

Your letter received. Glad to hear you like Gordon. I hope Mr. Tanner[1] is all right now.

I send you eight postcards today. The first seven are the pictures of the seven springs and the eighth the picture of the Kaiser Bath where we have our baths every day.

Did you receive Nanni's postcard intact with the little contrivance making the birds sing?

With love from all

Your affectionate,
Father

Please continue to address your letters *Poste Restante* as I am looking out for lodgings and may remove any day.

I forgot to tell you that Tennis is in full swing here. Homburg is supposed to possess the best Tennis Courts in all Europe. I had a mind to join the club but when I saw that not only men but girls played a much prettier game than I could ever expect to do I decided not to join.

M.N.

17. To Brajlal Nehru

Villa Branicka
23, Kisseleff Strasse
Homburg V. D.H.
Augt. 8th, 1905

Dear Brajlal,

I saw the result of your examination in the Times early this morning. Your letter was received only in the afternoon.

. . . You are of course fully alive to the vital issues which depend upon the result of your fling at the I.C.S. both to yourself and to the community at large. Just one year of really hard work and you can make yourself a hero. I am looking forward to the day when Reuter will cable across the seas to India that Mr. B. Nehru of Allahabad heads the list of successful candidates for the I.C.S. You can easily accomplish this if you will only apply yourself to it and I have no reason to think that you will not.

[1]A London-based English clergyman with whose family Jawaharlal Nehru sometimes spent his vacation as a student.

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I am sorry for Jagmohan.[1] But he is a plodding young fellow and might get through.

Now I want to get Kishan[2] here (I mean England or rather Scotland). But please not a word of this to India or to any one who can or is likely to write to India. I have been revolving a thousand plans in my own mind about wife's stay in Europe for a year and also about Kishan's completing his education in England. It will be a proud day for me when I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you a full blown I.C.S. & Kishan an I.M.S. Hitherto I was looking at the two questions i.e. that of my wife's stay here & that of Kishan's coming over separately. It is only two or three days ago that it struck me to put the two together and solve them as a single whole. The result so far seems satisfactory but I must confess that I am far from decided yet. The plan works out as follows: Kishan's examination comes off, if I am not mistaken, sometime this month. My recollection is that his college reopens after the vacation which follows the examination some time in October when the results are published. I am sure you can ascertain this from one of the many Lahore College men now at Edinburgh. The man who met us the other day with Ikbal Narain is sure to know. If Kishan can finish his examination some time this month or even the next he can arrive in England while I am there. I can take a house for wife in one of the suburbs of Edinburgh (preferably the place where the man, I have just alluded to, lives with his Panjabi family) for wife & Kishan. The proximity of the Panjabi ladies will be a great relief to wife, and Kishan will without prejudice to his studies be in a position to look after her. What do you say to this plan? Living will be much cheaper in Scotland than in England. Of course it will be colder but I do not think it will make very much difference. Please make enquiries from Edinburgh on three points and let me know the result as soon as possible :

1. When is the 3rd year examination held in Lahore?
2. When does the term begin at Edinburgh?
3. What difference does it make at Edinburgh in the cases of men who join after passing the 3rd year examination at Lahore & those who join only after passing the 2nd year exam.—simply reading for the 3rd year?

. . .I have not been able to write to Jawaharlal but you can show him this letter & he is to observe the same precaution which I have enjoined upon you.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

[1]Jagmohan Nath Chak, studied Law in London and was later Dean of Law at Lucknow University.

[2]Kishanlal Nehru, b. 1881; son of Nandlal Nehru and nephew of Motilal Nehru; medical graduate of Edinburgh University; served as Deputy Sanitary Commissioner in U.P., resigned during the non-cooperation movement; d. 1951.

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18. To Jawahar

Villa Branicka
23, Kisseleff Strasse
Homburg V.D.H.
Augt. 9th.; 1905

My dear Jawahar,

Your letter of the 7th. I cannot account for only 4 out of 9 postcards reaching you. I stamped and posted them myself. . . .

It is very good of Dr. Wood to interest himself so far in you as to be concerned with the qualifications of your private tutor and show his solicitude for the progress you are making. He told me distinctly in your presence that French must be sacrificed to Latin. I think those are his very words. Besides I have preserved his letter in which he sets out all he wants. I enclose the letter. Please show it to Mr. Tanner. Did Dr. Wood send you the French books you speak of or was it Mr. Tanner who got them for you? If Mr. Tanner simply asked for books taught in the lower forms they would of course send him all the books and would not know the arrangement arrived at between me and Dr. Wood. To make matters perfectly clear I am again writing to Dr. Wood on the subject and will send you his reply.

Today we finish the first week of Homburg treatment. When I wrote to you last about my state of health it was I think only the first or the second day of the treatment which therefore had nothing to do with the improvement I had made. Before this treatment I was taking the medicine prescribed by Sir Patrick Manson[1] in London "as an experiment". When the Homburg treatment was commenced I stopped all other medicines and although the doctor permitted the use of weak wines, I gave up alcohol altogether, strong or weak, and followed all other directions to the very letter. At the end of the week however I find my old complaints gradually returning. After the second or the third day of the treatment wife too began to feel weak & is now poorly. The doctor saw us today and said that the first week of the treatment generally produced such results but that if we continue the treatment we will find a change for the better next week. If the next week does not bring any better results it will be no use stopping here for the third and we will go off to Ems instead of wasting time here.

The only one who has improved here is Nany. She has considerably improved her appetite. She plays all day in the open air and has learnt many English words and short sentences which she pronounces quite charmingly. Her *Jhop* has however not left her. She is as much admired here as she was in London and elsewhere and whenever anyone attempts to speak to her she makes all sorts of awkward *Vars*.

[1]b. 1844; Scottish doctor, famous for his pioneering work, along with Ross, in malaria research; later he became Medical Adviser at the Colonial Office in London, and helped in the establishment of the London School of Tropical Medicine; d. 1922.

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I have had no Indian mail yet. I am afraid Cooks stupid clerks have bungled again.

With love

Your affectionate
Father

19. To Jawahar

Villa Branicka
23, Kisseleff Str.
Homburg V.D.H.
14.8. '05.

My dear Jawahar,

Enclosed is Dr. Wood's reply to my letter. He has written to Mr. Tanner too. This ought to set your mind at rest. I cannot understand why Dr. Wood has suddenly developed such a keen interest in you. Has Mr. Blair's visit anything to do with it?

The baloon ascent yesterday was a success. It went up straight several thousand feet high in the air & then drifted in one direction till it was last viewed. We did not see it coming down.

The most beautiful thing I have seen here is a luminous fountain. It is not one of those things on which electric or lime light is thrown from the outside. The electric light arrangement is all in the fountain itself and it is so arranged as to make the water jet look like live fire. I am told it is the only one of its kind in Germany & possibly in the world.

We are much the same as before.

Your affectionate
Father

20. To Jawahar

Villa Branicka
23, Kisseleff Str.
Homburg—V.D.H.
Augt. 15th., 1905

My dear Jawahar,

Last night was the most miserable night I have passed for a long time past. I was all right during the day but was so much troubled by the cough at night that I was awake till 3 o' clock in the morning and my sleep after that was not uninterrupted. I called the doctor this morning

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and told him point blank that his treatment had made me much worse than I was when I arrived here. He agreed with me in thinking that it would be no use wasting another week here & that we must proceed to Ems. But what guarantee is there that we would be better off at Ems? It is clear that the London doctors were wrong in sending us here. Is it not possible (I should say probable) for them to be equally wrong as to Ems? On giving the matter my best consideration I have decided to consult the most eminent German doctors before I commit myself to another course of treatment. Though there is no knowing that these medical luminaries are any better than those I have consulted in London but it will be a great satisfaction to me to know that I have done all that could possibly be done.

I leave for Berlin tomorrow noon leaving wife, Nanni, & Miss Hooper[1] here. The house is a very comfortable one and the landlady a very accommodating & obliging person. Wife is quite satisfied and I trust there will be no trouble during my temporary absence. I will have to be at Berlin for a couple of days and if advised to go to Ems, which is on the way, I will stop there for a day on my return to select a house tec.

More from Berlin.

Your affectionate
Father

I will call for letters at the Berlin Post-office.

21. To Jawahar

Hotel d' Angleterre
Bad Ems
17.8.05.

My dear Jawahar,

We arrived here safe this afternoon at 1 p.m. having left Homburg at 9 a.m. The four hours journey would be a very pleasant one but for the fact that there were two changes of trains. The line runs alongside the Rhine following all its meanderings and the scenery on both sides of the river is simply perfect. As usual we were packing till after 1 o'clock this morning and are very much tired.

Our baggage (the registered trunks) were left behind at one of the stations where we had to change. We had a very late lunch and I could not make time to call at the post-office. I will however do so tomorrow and hope to receive your letter.

Ems is one of the loveliest little places I have seen. Of course there is no knowing what effect its waters will have upon us but if they agree with

[1]Served the Nehru family as governess.

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us I should like to stop here for the full term of four weeks. The little town is situated on both banks of the small river Lahn with high hills on all sides. Puny motor boats ply up and down at intervals of 10 minutes. There is a tiny railway going up the top of one of the high hills. Covered walks and beautiful chestnut avenues abound. There is the unavoidable Casino (called the Keerhous) and the band plays three times a day. The place is not as crowded as Homburg is. I will send you some postcards tomorrow. Nanni is delighted at the prospects of digging on the bank of the river.

I wrote & made an appointment with the Doctor before we left Homburg. On arrival I found his letter and am now expecting him every moment.

Your affectionate
Father

22. To Jawahar

Hotel d' Angleterre Englischer Hof.
Bad Ems,
Augt, 23rd, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

I did not write for the last two days as there was nothing to say. Our life now is the routine life of the special treatment of Ems and as I told you in one of my letters there is very little time left for anything else.

I am glad to hear you have done one reading of Principia Latina and Caesar. But one reading is not enough. You mus go through it again and again and what is most important you must get your tutor to set you questions of all kinds and you must accustom yourself to answer them correctly & to the point within the given time. The best can only be learnt by practice. I have known students who knew their subjects thoroughly but could not show their knowledge in their answer papers, although they wrote twice or thrice as much as was necessary. You say nothing about your Arithmetic. I do not believe in the knowledge imparted to you by Mr. Brooks.[1] You must do as many examples & problems as possible & here again you must accustom yourself to the shortest process for arriving at an answer.

Tomorrow is Nanni's birthday. There is a school for boys & girls (little ones) just in front of our hotel. They are very poor. I am going to treat them tomorrow with chocolate & cake. When I ordered the treat, I thought they were about 100, but the school register is now found to have 380 names out of which quite 340 answer the roll call every morning.

[1]Ferdinand T. Brooks, Jawaharlal Nehru's tutor during 1902-04; a theosophist, was recommended to Motilal Nehru by Mrs. Annie Besant.

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It is a matter of some £14 but the children are very poor and the money will be well spent.

It is Wednesday today but I have not yet received the last Indian mail.

Both wife and I are progressing slowly—and let us hope surely.

I received a letter from Brajlal from Dieppe but he gave no address saying that he had none as he had not taken any lodgings.

Foster[1] wrote to me something about your overcoat and jackets. I forget it now. See what he wants when you go to town next.

It is enough to say "Bad Ems, Germany" in addressing your letters.

Your affectionate
Father

23. To Jawahar

Hotel d' Angleterre Englischer Hof.
Bad Ems
Augt. 27th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

I have been very lazy for the last few days (I am told this is the effect of Ems cure) & have not been able to write you letters of any length. For two days I was very busy with Nany's birthday tea party to the school children. It was a grand success. The children numbered about 400 and as there was not enough room in the Hotel grounds for all they had to be entertained in two batches on two consecutive days. They were mostly poor but there was a fair proportion of those coming from the better classes. In school life they make no distinction between the rich & poor in this country & the parents of the more well-to-do willingly allowed their children to attend the party. The only difference was the latter made a small present of flowers to Nany & one of them gave a handsome packet of note paper. They were served with chocolate & cake and enjoyed it very much. Before taking their leave they sang several songs in German and the masters made neat little speeches in English to which I replied suitably. Nany was literally laden with presents and her birthday will not be easily forgotten at Ems. Large crowds assembled round the grounds and Nany was cheered by them. She shook hands with each guest (poor thing was quite exhausted). Besides the presents brought by the children the Proprietor of the hotel sent a beautiful birthday cake, the jeweller from whom I bought a pair of ear-rings for Nany sent her a magnificent basket of flowers and several lodgers in the hotel also sent flowers. It was the grandest birthday Nany has ever had or perhaps will have in future. She behaved very well indeed and looked like a little queen in her new dress. I have come to be known at Ems as an Indian Prince.

[1]A reputed tailoring firm of London patronised by Jawaharlal Nehru.

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Cheap fame purchased for £15 only!

The latest news from India is that your worthy uncle (Premnathji)[1] has brought about a union of the Dharam and Bishan Sabha[2] and with this combined force hopes to expel us all from caste. The express object of the movement is to expel those who do not perform *Praschit* after returning from England. The necessary resolutions were to be passed at a meeting today. I am of course treating these outbursts with silent contempt.

I only received two issues of the Punch—one at Homburg of which I informed you at the time and the other only yesterday. Before leaving Homburg I wrote to the Manager of Cook's office complaining about the irregular & careless working of his staff and giving the necessary instructions. He has written to apologise for the mistake & to say that in future it will not be repeated. Your letter was sent after all this and I do not think they will pay any attention to it specially as it in a manner cancels and supersedes my own instructions.

There is going to be a grand review of the German Army at which the Emperor will be present on the 10th Septr. at Coblentz [Koblenz] only about an hour by Ry. from here. I intend going to see it.

I am sorry I again wrote on the address side of the postcards I sent you. I quite forgot about it.

Your loving
Father

24. To Jawahar

Bad Ems
Septr. 2nd., 1905

My dear Jawahar,

I have not written to you for the last two days. Thursday was the Indian mail day & I wrote some letters. Yesterday the doctor tampered with our noses (your mother's and mine) so clumsily that we were very uneasy all day.

The second week of Ems treatment came to an end yesterday. I cannot say that I have made no improvement but I must say that I am not

[1]Grandfather of Jiwanlal Kathju.

[2]Among the high-caste Hindus in general and Kashmiri Brahmins in particular, sea-voyage was prohibited. Those who sailed abroad were considered to have lost caste and were expected to perform *prayaschit*, purification ceremony, on return. Pandit Bishan Narain Dhar, a well-known Congress leader, and contemporary of Motilal Nehru, went to England and performed *prayaschit* on return. Those of the orthodox among the Kashmiri Brahmins, who did not waive the social boycott on any condition, were said to belong to Dharam Sabha; while others, who permitted re-entry to the caste group after *prayaschit* came to be known as followers of Bishan Sabha. Motilal Nehru refused to perform *prayaschit* even when threatened with ex-communication from caste. Motilal became the leader of the third group which was known first as Moti Sabha and later as Satya Sabha.

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satisfied with it. The precautions I take from morning to evening would have resulted in the same improvement anywhere. However, it is some thing to have complete rest & I am certainly having that. Your mother is decidedly worse than she was in London but her state of health is ascribable more to her condition than climatic causes.

Nany is thriving. She has a bitter complaint against you. She says "brother has not sent me even a penny postcard for my birthday present." I think her complaint is well founded. She writes a letter for you almost every day. The writing of course consists of crooked lines & loops and when I say I cannot read it she retorts "You don't know German. This is German." There is a big girl about 13, the daughter of an English Colonel whose wife is taking her cure. Nany has made friends with her & they play together all day.

The result of your sending my Indian mail to me is that I get it a day later than when it was sent by Cook. I got it on Thursday which is the mail day & could not find time to answer. However it is matter of two more weeks only & you need not alter the arrangement.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

25. To Jawahar

Bad Ems
15-9-05

My dear Jawahar,

Brajlal came yesterday. I leave for Freiburg today. Brajlal wants to see the different sights of Ems and will leave with your mother and Nanni tomorrow. They will make one or two halts on the way back but you will be informed of the exact time of their arrival by wire. Please meet your mother at the station and wire to me her safe arrival.
My address is

Hotel Zahringer Hof
Freiburg in Baden (Germany)

You must say "Freiburg, Baden" as there are two Freiburgs in Germany and one in Switzerland.

I cannot say how long I will stop at Freiburg or where I will go when I leave it. I will however wire to London to Brajlal or you the name of the place I am leaving for which will mean that I will call for letters and telegrams at the Post-Office there.

No time to write more. Am very busy.

Your loving,
Father

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26. To Jawahar

Hotel Sommer
Zum Zahringer Hof
Freiburg I.B.
Septr. 16th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

I arrived here safe last night. This morning I saw Professor Kilian the greatest authority in Germany on throat & chest diseases. I have written a full account of the interview to Brajlal and asked him to preserve the letter for you. The result was that the doctor said I had exhausted all conceivable remedies and that he could do nothing further for me. He recommended a change to the most impossible places for impossible lengths of time.

This is most beautiful country. I propose to rest here for two or three days. I do not know what my next move would be but I will make up my mind by tomorrow & let you know.

I hope Brajlal has left with party today. He will wire to you and you must meet him at the station.

Hoping you are all right.

Your loving
Father

27. To Jawahar

Waldstatterhof & Savoy-Hotel
Lucerne (Suisse)
Septr. 20th., 1905

Dear Jawahar,

I arrived here night before last. Yesterday was spent partly on the lake & partly on the Rigi mountain from where I sent you & Nany a number of postcards. Today is a very wet & rainy day & it is impossible to see any scenery though it abounds in the neighbourhood. I am going to utilize it in seeing the various panoramas & dioramas provided under covered buildings. Yesterday was glorious and I made up my mind to give all the time at my disposal to Lucerne omitting Paris altogether from the programme. The air is so bracing that I felt exhilerated. But if today's weather continues I am afraid I will have to revert to the old programme. In any case you will receive a telegram tomorrow telling you where I am or where I go.

I called at the Post-office but there was nothing for me. I ought at least to have received a telegram of the safe arrival of Brajlal & party who were due in London last evening. Perhaps I will receive it in the course of the day.

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I am all right and have no cough etc. I wish I had a fortnight to stay here.

Your affectionate
Father

28. To Jawahar

Waldstatterhof & Savoy-Hotel
Lucerne (Suisse)
Septr. 21st, 05

My dear Jawahar,

I got the telegram of your mother's safe arrival after posting my letter yesterday. The weather continued to be very wet and unpleasant the whole day yesterday and it is now noon with no improvement whatever. I did what could be done in bad weather yesterday and must venture out after lunch today to see what probably cannot be seen. I have only today and tomorrow here and must make the most of my time. I wish I had been here a fortnight earlier. The climate is agreeing with me wonderfully.

I have just purchased my ticket from here to Paris. I had no intention of stopping at Paris but I find it will be too long a stretch from here to London without a break. I propose to leave here by the 7 a.m. train on the 23rd & arrive at Paris at 5.45 p.m. the same evening. I sleep the night in Paris and leave for London the next morning by some convenient train [reaching] the same evening I will wire from Paris. It is a great pity that I have to leave this beautiful place without seeing it thoroughly to my satisfaction but you will be going to school on the 27th and I must have at least two days with you.

Your affectionate
Father

You must leave the Vicarage & spend the last few days of the holidays with us at Bailey's.

29. To Jawahar

Bailey's Hotel
London
Septr. 30th., 1905

Dear Jawahar,

I take the earliest opportunity of telling you after my first visit to you

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at Harrow that you must really guard yourself against cold more effectively than you have been doing. You must never be in the condition in which you were when I left you. If anything you must be overclad—but not always—when you are inside a room you do not want much clothing—but in the open air, even if it be for a second, you must have as much as you can bear the weight of.

Make friends with your immediate neighbours in the house—occasionally entertain them on holidays & half-holidays—in a word try to be a general favourite as you are bound to be without my telling you.

I do not know if this will be delivered to you tomorrow (Sunday) but I will write again tomorrow night & send some of your things I have received from the shops. Meanwhile cut away the collars of your flannel shirts and wear them between the undervests and the stiff shirts.

Your loving
Father

30. To Jawahar

Bailey's Hotel
London
Sunday [1.10.1905]

My dear boy,

I have written to Dr. Wood asking for an appointment either on Tuesday or any other day convenient to him. Whether he sees me on Tuesday or not, I will come to Harrow with Kishan and Shridhar[1] and [bring] some of your things at about 3 p.m. Kishan has just wired from Marseilles that he arrives here tomorrow evening at 7. He does not name Shridhar but I suppose he is with him.

Please make all sorts of enquiries about the requirements of Harrow. I am very much concerned to supply you with every possible want before I go.

It has been so cold today that I did not venture out of the Hotel. I hope you have been taking care of yourself for you must understand that in taking care of yourself you do in a great measure take care of me and my happiness.

Your loving
Father

[1]Shridhar Nehru, b. 1888; son of Bansi Dhar Nehru; educated at Allahabad, Cambridge, Heidelberg, London and Sorbonne Universities; entered I.C.S., 1912; Industry and Education Secretary to U.P. Government, 1931; Director, Publicity and Reforms Officer, 1932; Member, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, 1933; President for Agriculture, Indian Science Congress, Bombay, 1934; d. 1967.

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31. To Jawahar

Villa Branicka
23, Kisseleff Strasse
Homburg V.D.H.
13.10.05

My dear Jawahar,

Your letters. I have got the Pioneer Mail of the 7th, 14th, & 21st July and have looked through them again and again to find the news of the death of the Maharaja of Kashmir's[1] infant son but it has escaped my eye every time. The strange part of the affair is that I was actually wiring my "hearty congratulations" for the restoration of fuller powers when you were writing to me to send a wire of condolence for another event. As I have said nothing except the words I have quoted they may apply to either event but I hope the Maharaja will have the sense to understand my meaning.

Wife is all right now and went to the Hotel to take her lunch. The new teeth will be ready by the end of the next week.

I am much the same. The cough troubles me at night only and is not so bad as it was in London. I have to wait for another three days to see the end of the second week of treatment.

I see the "Cat's away and the mice play". Mr. and Mrs. Tanners' absence from the vicarage enables you to pass so many afternoons with Bijju Bhai.

There is to be a balloon ascent at the Keerhous (Casino) and we are going to see it.

Your affectionate
Father

32. To Jawahar

Bailey's Hotel
London
Octr. 16th., 1905

My dear boy,

I hope you returned to Harrow safely and were admitted into the house without any difficulty. The parting is of course always painful but it has been very much so with your mother and myself as it undoubtedly was with you. You left me so suddenly that I could not even embrace you & kiss you as there was just time to shake hands the train being already in

[1]Maharaja Pratap Singh of Kashmir, b. 1850; succeeded to the *gaddi*, 1885; gazetted a Colonel in the British army, 1888; G.C.S.I., 1892; attended Delhi Durbar, 1911; G.C.I.E., 1911; Lt. General, 1916, d. 1925.

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motion before I could run up. However, it is all sentiment and I have every reason to hope that it will soon pass off. I am going back to India with the firm conviction that I have sown the seed of your future greatness and I have not a shadow of a doubt that you have a great career before you. We have seen enough of you at Harrow to be satisfied that you will be quite happy there. Your mother is getting over the shock of parting and her mind is perfectly at ease about your welfare but you must not miss a single mail. Write to us at Paris, Marseilles, and Port Said as arranged last night. You will get my letters from every port. It will however be too much to have no news of you for three weeks at a stretch and I will ask you to send us a telegram with just one word "well." You must send this telegram so that it may reach us a day or two after our arrival at Allahabad, say on the 6th Novr.

I am writing to Dr. Wood and the Tanners.

Now farewell my dear boy and take every possible care of yourself.

Your loving
Father

Paris address—Hotel Continental
Marseilles Do—Thomas Cook
Steamer—S.S. Macedonia

Telegram to be sent on the 6th Novr.
Nehru Allahabad well

You need not put down your own name.

33. To Jawahar

Hotel Continental
3, Rue De Castiglione
Paris
Octr. 16th., 1905
10.45 p.m.

My dear boy,

We have just arrived here after a very pleasant but at the same time a very cold crossing. I hope to receive a letter from you tomorrow. We stop here for two days and leave on Thursday morning. Our steamer is timed to sail from Marseilles at 10 a.m. on Friday and I want to get to Marseilles the previous evening. It is impossible for us to see the whole of Paris in two days but I will show your mother enough to make her remember Paris. She is very much concerned about you and has been very dull all day but it was a very busy day and she was dead tired. There was the usual rush before we left Bailey's Hotel. Something had to be

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done to the very last moment. Parcels continued to arrive till 12 (noon) when it was discovered that the trunks & boxes we had were not enough to hold everything. A new box was at once sent for from Harrods. We left the Hotel at 15 minutes to 2 and caught the 2.20 train by the skin of our nose as somebody put it. I will write to you again tomorrow. I could not find time to write to Dr. Wood and the Tanners from London but I will do so from here tomorrow. I am now quite tired and want to go to sleep.

I hope we will hear from you daily while we are in France. Give me a complete account of your first fagging day I am so anxious to know what menial services are exacted at Harrow from the only and dearly beloved son of a man who employs more than 50 servants in India.

Please have yourself photographed at once in your school clothes and send us ½ dozen at least of the photographs. Also do not delay handing the order for the uniform to the Sergeant any longer. As soon as you are fully equipped have yourself photographed again in your uniform and send us half a dozen.

Please begin to write letter-diary. I am afraid I have not given you enough money for the vacation but I have unfortunately left my cheque book behind and am wiring for it. On receipt I will send you a cheque which you can cash if necessary at any time.

With love from mother and self and Nanni.

Your loving
Father

34. To Jawahar

Marseilles
20.10.05.

My dear Jawahar,

We arrived here safe about an hour ago and have stopped for the night at the same hotel in which we stopped coming out. It is a few minutes past 12 (midnight) & I have to date this note the 20th.

Cook's man was at the station but he had no letters for me though he was telegraphed from Marseilles. The Macedonia sails today at 10 a.m. but I will call at Cook's office for letters at 8. I will have no time to write to you after I leave my bed this morning & am therefore doing so before I go to bed. I do hope I will have the satisfaction of hearing from you before we sail. I will wire our love if there is time.

You must bear in mind that in you we are leaving the dearest treasure we have in this world and perhaps in other worlds to come. We are suffering the pangs of separation from you simply for your own good. It is not a question of providing for you as I can do that perhaps in one single year's income. It is a question of making a real man of you which you are bound to be. It would have been extremely selfish—I should say sinful—to keep you with us and leave you a fortune in gold with little or no education.

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I think I can without vanity say that I am the founder of the fortunes of the Nehru family. I look upon you, my dear son, as the man who will build upon the foundations I have laid and have the satisfaction of seeing a noble structure of renown rearing up its head to the skies. We leave you in flesh but will always be with you in spirit. You must pursue your noble object without feeling that you are separated from your loving and devoted parents. In less than 10 months I will again be with you to find I hope and believe ample justification for leaving you behind and in about 2 years you will be in a position to pass a few months among your old surroundings at Allahabad. But what a difference would there be! Laden with all the honours within your reach at Harrow, and budding into a vigorous manhood—will not our hearts leap for joy at the sight of you? I never thought I loved you so much as when I have to part with you though for a short time only. Perhaps it is due to my weak heart but my sense of duty to you is as strong as it ever was and as for the poor weak heart, it is in your keeping. It seems to me that the one ambition of my life is to see you successful. I have not the slightest doubt that you will rise to all my expectations and more—you have enough of work to keep you engaged. Apply yourself to it like a man and accomplish your mission. Work includes the preservation of health. Be perfect both in body and mind and this is the only return we seek for tearing ourselves from you. I could write pages in this strain but it is close upon 1 o' clock and you really need no sermon from me. I will therefore say farewell mine own darling boy and take every care of yourself. In doing so you will be taking care of your parents.

Your loving
Father

35. To Jawahar

S.S. Macedonia
22.10.05

My dear Jawahar,

I was so rushed at Marseilles the morning we left that I could not write after the pencil note I had scribbled before going to bed. Instinctively I went to the telegraph office when I was informed that I had but three minutes and in the hurry of the moment did not even know what to say in my wire. I did say something which I do not now remember.

Your two letters addressed to Marseilles were duly received on our way from the Hotel to the quay. I gave myself two days complete rest and the bracing sea air has done me a lot of good. I find now that it was the shock of parting with you which to a certain extent affected my heart and made me very uneasy indeed. I should not have felt like what I did if I were as strong as I used to be. Two days in the open sea have however

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Marseilles 99
20.10.05

My dear Jawahar

We arrived here safe about an hour ago and have stopped for the night at the same hotel in which we stopped coming out. It is a few minutes past 12 (mid night) & I have to write this [illegible] [illegible]

Cousin [illegible] was at the station [illegible] [illegible] letters for me [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] I will [illegible] [illegible] office for letters at 8. I will have no time to write to you

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2

100 ~~[illegible]~~ after I have my head this morning I am therefore doing so before I go to bed. I do hope I will have the satisfaction of hearing from you before we sail. I will [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] is time.

You must bear in mind that in you we are leaving the dearest treasure we have in the world and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] come. We are [illegible] the pangs of [illegible] from you simply for your

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Nehru family - I look
upon you my dear son
as the man who will
build upon the foundations
I have laid and have
the satisfaction of seeing
a noble structure of
renown rearing up its
[illegible]
[illegible] in flesh
but will always be with
you in spirit. You must
bear me your noble
object without feeling that
you are separated from
your loving and devoted

109

own good - It is not a
question of providing for
you as I can do that
perhaps in one single
year's income - It is
a question of making a
real man of you which
you are bound to be.
It would have been extremely
selfish - I should say sinful -
to keep you with us and
leave you a fortune
in gold with little or no
education. I think I can
without vanity say that
I am the founder of
the fortunes of the

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5 (3) 1.3

parents - In less than 10
months I will again be
with you to find I hope
and believe ample justification
for leaving you behind
and in about 2 years
you will be in a position
to pass a few months
among your old surroundings
at Allahabad - But
what a difference would
there be! Ladies with
all the honors within
your reach at Harrow,
and budding into a
vigorous manhood -

ARROWSIDE PAPER No. 101

6

1.4

will not our hearts
leap for joy at the
sight of you? I never
thought I loved you as
much as when I have
to part with you though
for a short again only -
Perhaps it is due to my
weak heart but my
sense of duty to you
is as strong as it ever
was and has for the
poor weak heart it
is in your keeping - It
seems to me that the one
ambition of my life is

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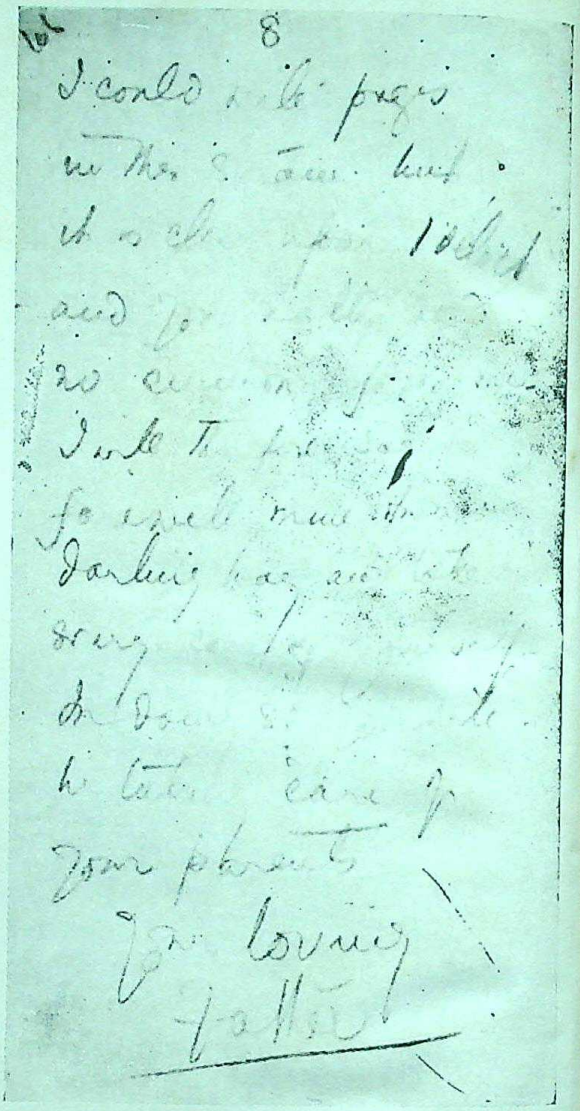
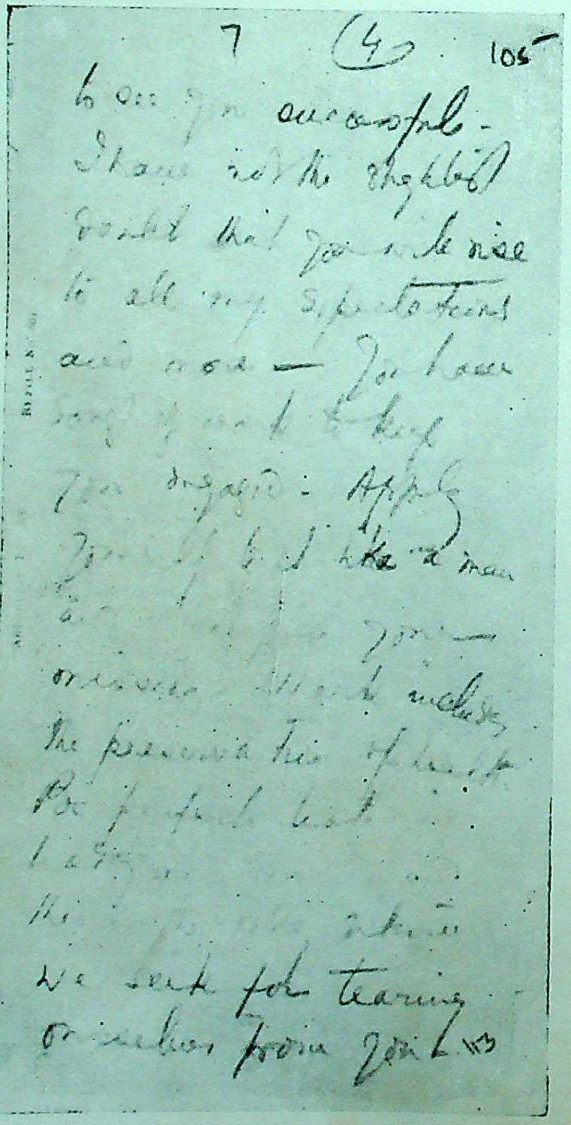


7 (4) 105

to see you successful -
I have not the slightest
doubt that you will rise
to all my expectations
and more — You have
[illegible] to keep
you engaged - Apply
[illegible] like a man
[illegible] your —
[illegible] includes
the preservation of health
Be perfectly [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
We seek for tearing
ourselves from you L 113



106 8

I could write pages
in this [illegible] but
it is [illegible] upon 10 [illegible]
and [illegible]
no [illegible]
I will [illegible]
[illegible]
darling [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] care of
your parents
Your loving
Father

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so far revived me as to induce me to attach little or no importance to the parting which is now over and to think only of the future meeting under most gratifying circumstances. Your mother too is not so dejected now as she was and by the time we reach Port Said will I hope begin to think as I do. Yours is not a weak & worn-out heart like ours and I am sure you will take less time to get over the parting. So we will say nothing more about it, but talk of things which form our present surroundings.

I am glad to hear we may expect your photos in the school jacket and the uniform at an early date. I should like you very much to practise shooting as much as you can. It is one of the most necessary qualifications of a well educated man. Must you not keep a rifle of your own? I think I asked you this question in one of my earlier letters but have had no answer to it so far.

The account of your fagging is interesting. I wonder if you had ever lighted a fire in India with your own hands. If not you must have done it very clumsily indeed at Harrow. I should like to hear more of your fagging duties and if you will only follow my direction to write a sort of a diary from day to day, I will at the end of the week have a full account of yourself without putting you to any extra inconvenience.

It was very cold till yesterday noon but the weather has now changed. It is quite pleasant. We passed very near the *Steamhole* last night and saw the molten lava flowing by the mountain side.

23.10.'05

All of a sudden I felt so sleepy yesterday that I could finish the last sentence with some difficulty. We reach Port Said early tomorrow morning and I must finish this letter today. The ship is so over-crowded that all first saloon passengers cannot dine at the same time. They have to do so in two batches. Our turn comes first at 6 p.m. which is rather inconvenient. Among our fellow passengers are Lord Chelmsford[1] going to Australia and the Maharaja of Kapurthala[2] with his accomplished Maharani both in English clothes. The Maharani speaks English and French fluently and is one of the most beautiful women I have seen. She looks exactly like a European lady.

I am glad to hear you are not pessimistic about your success at Harrow. I am quite confident that your name will soon be carved among the distinguished students of the school. The idea of not seeing us for a long time which troubled you when you wrote last has I hope passed away. It is not after all so very long that you will be away from us at a stretch. As I have already said I will see you in less than 10 months and the time of your seeing your mother, Nanni and all the rest will depend upon your passing from the school to the University, the utmost limit of which I take

[1]Chelmsford, Fredrick John Napier Thesiger, Ist Viscount, b. 1868; Governor of Queensland, 1905-09; Governor of New South Wales, 1909-13; Viceroy of India, 1916-21; d. 1933.

[2]Jagatjit Singh, b. 1872; made G.C.S.I., 1911; G.C.I.E., 1918; G.B.E., 1927; represented India at the League of Nations, 1926, 1927 and 1929; Member, Round Table Conference, 1931; d. 1949.

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to be 2½ years. It is too early yet to fix the day but I am sure we will be able to do so when I see you next in England. We will so arrange it that you will have some three months in India & accompany me on return to England.

Cricket and Football cannot be learnt in a day. It was my mistake that I did not give you some practice in both. I think it will be well if you can arrange to have some practice during your vacation.

We have all but crossed the Mediterranean. It is quite pleasant so far--- only we have had to discard the very thick clothing it was necessary to wear in England & France. We have yet to face the horrors of the Red Sea and a notice put up on the board calling upon passengers to notify to the purser before reaching Port Said if they want electric fans is ominous. To be on the safe side I have given the necessary notice. The weather in the Arabian Sea however will be perfect.

Do not forget to send the telegram as I have directed in one of my letters. Always let me know in time when you want money. I am afraid you will forget all about it till you come to your last shilling. In such a case you can get something from Brajlal or the Tanners or even Mr. Ford[1] (the Solicitors). I am writing to them today.

I have to write several letters & must finish this now. With love

Your loving
Father

36. To Jawahar

The Red Sea
S.S. Macedonia
Octr. 28th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

We are at last approaching Aden after a most trying passage through the Red Sea. For the last two nights I have not had a wink of sleep. Electric fans are in full swing every where but the air is too heavy to breathe and perspiration flows freely. Compare this with the weather you must be having! Substitute fires for electric fans—closed rooms for open decks—blankets for no covering at all. This is the sixth time I am passing through the Red Sea but I have never before experienced such dreadful heat. We are due at Aden tomorrow morning at 10.30. It will be equally hot there and worst of it all is that we trans-ship into a much smaller boat, The Oriental. This will take some time as 200 of us are bound for India and there is such a lot of baggage to be transhipped besides the mails. By tomorrow evening we hope to have more pleasant weather in the Arabian Sea.

[1]Solicitor friend of Motilal in England.

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There is little to tell you of our doings since I wrote last from Suez. There has been the usual round of sports, dances and concerts. Last night some adventurous spirits got of a fancy dress ball. Ices & cool drinks were flying about. Kapurthala gave prizes to the best-dressed lady & gentleman.

Thirteen days have passed since we parted with you! And yet it was but yesterday that you were hurrying up at Bailey's Hotel to catch your train at the Gloucester Road Station! I hope you have spent this interval in a way which has ere this brought conviction to your mind that the parting painful as it was was not so dreadful as it appeared to be at the time. You must of course be thinking of us as we have been of you but in a different way—not with grief at the parting but with joy at the prospect of meeting again which as I have already told you will not be very remote. The news that you are well and progressing with your studies and games will inspire us with the same feeling.

By the way should you at any time be ill you must write or wire Brajlal to see you at once. His presence will be a great help. The most important thing however is to see that you do not get ill which will be ensured by your observing the few simple rules of health which you know so well.

I am writing to Ford to give you any money that you may want. In case of emergency you can ask him *for it* either personally or by writing. Please let me know the exact dates of the beginning & end of the various terms at Harrow.

It appears a little early to think of your vacation now but it is really not so. When the vacation actually begins there will be no time to talk about it. I will therefore tell you what I think you should do in the vacation. Divide your time into three parts, not necessarily equal. Ist Rest, 2nd Recreation, 3rd Study. The last as little as possible consistently with what is required of you at the commencement of the next term. As to the first two they really overlap each other but what I was thinking of was the practice of college games such as cricket apart from other kinds of recreation which you may wish to have. You can engage the services of a professional as some Harrow boys who can afford it sometimes do (so says Mr. Vachell in his two books. Pro: I think is the Harrow abbreviation of the word Professional). Give up Tennis & don't waste your time over a game which cannot stand you in good stead at School. There will be lots of time to practise it hereafter, and whatever you do *Please do not bike at all.* You can buy a horse & ride if you like but do not *bike.* Mr. Tanner was saying to me the other day that it was possible to arrange for your riding. I did not go into details then as my mind was occupied with more important things concerning you, but you can find out from him. The practice of riding is well worth keeping up and improving upon and I would not grudge you the expense it will involve.

I do not know what else to say. I am nearly all right—here is just a little trace of cough which I expect will pass off in the Arabian Sea.

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Your mother too got an attack of cough at Marseilles but is much better now. Nany has felt the heat but her English is considerably improved. She has a number of English boys & girls for her friends and is with them all day. She will surprise everyone in India.

The moment I arrive in Allahabad which will be on the 4th Novr. I will have to plunge myself in business but I will always find time to write to you.

Take care of yourself and work on my boy and be sure that you are watched in spirit by

Your ever loving
Father

37. To Jawahar

The Arabian Sea
S.S. Oriental
Novr. 2nd, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

We have after all survived the terrors of the Red Sea and the eccentricities of the wretched tub in which we are crossing the Arabian Sea. We are due at Bombay tomorrow morning at 9.30. The 'Oriental' is just half the size of the Macedonia. There is no room on the decks to move about. The Sea has throughout been as still as a mill pond & yet the wretched thing rolls & pitches to a certain extent—not enough however to cause sea sickness. The only thing that can be said to her credit is that she is making a record passage: 410 to 415 knots a day.

I wired from Aden to Allahabad for Bhola[1] & the beddings and if Shamji[2] has got scent of my arrival I hope to find him also at the Ballard Pier tomorrow. I can give you no Indian news as the English mail will close soon after our arrival in Bombay but I will keep this letter open and add a few lines from the Victoria Terminus.

I have still a trace of cough left but it does not give me any trouble. Poor Nanni has lost all her freshness of complexion in the Red Sea and looks very pale. Your mother is much better and has got very friendly with the Rani Kinari of Kapurthala. Do you remember her portrait was once published in the *Saraswati*? It also appeared in the last issue of the Queen. I hope to receive your telegram of welfare on the 6th and your letter on Sunday week.

There is nor can be anything new to tell you from the Arabian Sea.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]Bholanath Gwal Bans, an old servant of Motilal Nehru.
[2]Shamji Mushran, one of Motilal Nehru's juniors at the Bar.

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38. To Jawahar

Allahabad
Novr. 6th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

We arrived at Bombay on the morning of the 3rd and came straight away by the Postal Special. Bhola and Shamji met us at the Ballard Pier. We find it very hot here. It was rather trying to travel from Bombay to Allahabad.

Here we are at last, but somehow or other Anand Bhawan does not appear to be so full of Anand as it used to be. There is something wanting and that something must necessarily be yourself. I dare say we will soon be accustomed to it.

I was under the impression that it would be sometime before any business would come to me as my presence in Allahabad could only be known throughout the Province very gradually. I was however most agreeably surprised to see a large number of clients eagerly expecting me with long purses. There were four outstation calls besides the ordinary High Court cases. I mean to stick to the High Court for some time and have refused the outstation cases though they were tempting enough.

I am afraid Nany will soon forget all her English as she does not like to spend all her time with Miss Hooper. She plays with Rupi[1] etc. almost all day and talks Hindustani.

M.N.

Novr. 7th, 1905

Your welcome telegram with the single word 'safe' this morning. I have been very busy all day but unfortunately have not been able to get through much work. There was a regular stream of visitors with all sorts of idle questions as to what I saw in the various countries of Europe I visited. I have to study several cases for tomorrow and make my *debut* in the High Court after 1½ years. Briefs are flowing in from all directions & being unused to work for a long time I find it difficult to cope with them. I hope soon to fall in with the work & once in the swing everything will work smoothly. Your telegram this morning has been of very great help to me as I can now work with the conviction that up till yesterday my boy was all right. Your letters however will be as anxiously looked for as ever. A man will wait at the delivery window of the Post-office every mail day to bring us the greatest comfort we can look for—a letter in your own handwriting.

[1]Rup Kumari, daughter of Mohanlal Nehru and grand-daughter of Nandlal Nehru; m. Hariharnath Wanchu.

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It continues to be hot but we are getting accustomed to it.

Biharilal[1] came in this morning to see us. His mother-in-law's mother is slowly expiring by sheer weight of years. She is 97 and odd months today. Tejwanti[2] and the children are at Balamau & could not come.

M.N.

Nov. 8th., 1905

Man proposes and somebody else disposes. You know the great Khan Bahadur of Meerut.[3] I was working hard at some of his cases fixed for today. Just before they were called on I received a telegram from Sheikh Waheduddin[4] that his father died last night. The cases were postponed. I had a great respect for the old man and though he died full of years and honors I feel his loss keenly.

My list of cases for tomorrow has reached its climax. During the last 24 hours I have been engaged in every First Appeal on the list. My absence from the High Court for any length of time does not make any difference in my practice. I am taken for a magician! To my mind it is simple enough. I want money, I work for it and I get it. There are many people who want it perhaps more than I do but they do not work and naturally enough do not get it.

Nikkoo's[5] *Janeu*[6] is being celebrated at Lahore. Premnathji wired an invitation to us yesterday. It was thankfully declined.

I have asked Bhaijanji[7] to come and live with us before he goes to England. He must be very lonely indeed after Shridhar's departure.

More tomorrow.

M.N.

[1]Eldest son of Nandlal and nephew of Motilal Nehru.

[2]Wife of Biharilal Nehru.

[3]Hafiz Abdul Karim Shaikh, b. 1838; a prominent landed proprietor of Meerut who was conferred the title of Khan Bahadur for services rendered to the British Raj by his ancestors and himself; d. 1905.

[4]Son of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Hafiz Abdul Karim.

[5]Kunwar Lal Kathju, younger brother of Jivan Lal Kathju and son of Ratan Lal Kathju.

[6]Thread ceremony.

[7]Bansi Dhar Nehru, eldest brother of Motilal Nehru; joined government service and rose to the position of subordinate Judge; visited England to witness Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897; d. 1913.

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39. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Allahabad
Novr. 12th., 1905

Dear brother,

Many thanks for your very kind letter. I am sorry I have not been able to write to you since I returned from Europe. From the moment I stepped out of the Railway carriage at the Allahabad station I have very seldom found myself alone. There is a regular stream of visitors, clients and friends.

There are several matters in which it is necessary to send directions to Shridhar. He arrived in London only a few days before I left and I had no time to make any arrangements for him. He brought no letter or other instructions from you and could say nothing except that he wanted to go to Cambridge. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could find time to accompany him there and I must confess I was not quite satisfied with what I did. I could not however have done better within the short time at my disposal.

Novr. 13th , 1905

I had to break off at the above sentence yesterday as some visitors whom I could not ignore were announced. I resume this letter after more than 24 hours for a few minutes only.

You sent me no letter with Shridhar but there was one by the next mail. I should have got it in London if it were *not* registered, as it is I got it in Paris after I had commenced my return journey. I do not however think it would have made any difference as it *did not* contain any specific directions.

I left London charging Brajlal (who by the way is now well able to take care of himself and others who might require looking after) to go down to Cambridge and see that Shridhar was amply provided with all his wants. Braj has dutifully carried out my injunction but from what he tells me I think Shridhar wants a little more looking after than Braj can afford. He (Braj) is appearing for his I.C.S. in August next. He has obtained his Honors at Oxford quite easily retaining all his playful habits, but it is impossible for him to be among the selected few without applying himself wholly & solely to his studies. This he is fully prepared to do but not with two babies like Jawahar and Shri on his hands. I had enough time to settle every detail about Jawahar and I do not think Braj will have any difficulty with him. But he must give some of his time to Shridhar which I have asked him to do. But for his seeing him, soon after we left, Shridhar would not have even the necessary clothing. I enclose Brajlal's letter for your information. Please return it after perusal as I have to reply to it.

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Novr. 18th., 1905

I continue the letter again but what an interval! I am really ashamed of myself.

What Shridhar wants is a home for the vacation. They do not allow students to remain in the College during vacations. There are two ways of doing this. He can either take lodgings or go to a family. The latter is the more desirable of the two and of course more expensive. I have found a very good family for Jawahar but they have no more room besides I do not want the boys to live together. They should of course meet occasionally and even pass a few days together off and on but if they are constantly together they might as well have remained in India. Brajlal lives in apartments and I have asked him to take rooms for Shri somewhere near himself pending receipt of instructions from you. It is not easy to find a suitable family.

I was informed that you intended to go to England early next year. This is the best that can be done. The boys will have some one to look to for guidance and your health will be ever so much better. You must be very lonely indeed after Shridhar's departure. In fact I do not see why you should live in Agra at all now. May I venture to request you to spend the few months you have in India with us? You have not yet honored Anand Bhawan by your presence even once. Indeed you have not seen the younger generation of Nehrus which came into existence after you left Allahabad. They should have a chance of seeing the head of the family and it goes without saying that you will be right heartily welcome to all. The weather is just delightful and the journey from Agra to Allahabad will be the least tiresome now. So far as I am concerned I can assure you that I look forward to the prospect of our being together after a long time with unmixed pleasure and happiness. I hope in reply to hear when you are coming. We can make our plans much better when we are together.

Wife is in labor and expects to be soon confined. Perhaps you will receive a wire before this.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

40. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 16th., 1905

My dear Jawahar,

I have been so busy this week that I could not find time to write a few lines every day as I did last week. It was the University week and though I had personally to do nothing with the University I had to sacrifice my

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time to it all the same. Chakravarti & Naushad Ali were staying with me and many others who came for one or the other of the functions at the Muir College[1] chose the evenings for making their calls. I am writing my English mail today (Thursday) at the expense of Mrs. Annie Besant's[2] lecture in the Mayo Hall. She must be firing away her proofs of a "super-physical existence" at the present moment.

I was delighted to read your last letter and will first notice a few points disclosed in it.

Your non-attendance at the Trafalgar day lecture was no doubt due to your inexperience and want of information. Apart from the fact that such non-attendance entailed "serious" consequences, as you say it did, you missed something which is not going to happen for another hundred years. Try to keep in touch with all your surroundings and do not let anything happen under your very nose without knowing it and receiving some impression from & about it. Experience is nothing but the sum total of impressions received from time to time by close observation. The closer the observation,the greater the experience.

It is no use your trying to distinguish yourself at footer. You must of course play the game or rather try to play it as you put it. You have neither the strength nor the practice required for the game. Play it cautiously and do not come out of it with broken bones. I say this simply because I have read of a case of broken bones in the book "The Brothers" recommended by you.

The one sentence in your letter which has had a more exhilarating effect upon me than all my successes in life is that in which you assure me that "Harrow agrees with you quite well". The fact of our not being there which you mention as a detracting circumstance is not to be thought of at all. You know that you are dearly loved by your parents who know that in you they have a loving and dearly beloved son. We live in you and for you and find that in your small body you have a great heart which responds to every call of filial affection and devotion. Such a great and mutual love must annihilate all distance. If we are not together in body we certainly are in spirit—why then trouble ourselves with what does not affect us? Eight thousand miles or eighty thousand miles do not make any difference. Do not my dear boy attach any importance to appearances. We appear to be separated from each other for the time being but we really are not.

I have your letter before me and am following it as I write. The next thing that attracts my attention is a passage in which you treat very lightly—the defect in the window of your room. When a bright fire is burning you do not notice the cold draft that the window admits. The effect of a draft does not depend on your noticing it. You have a pre-disposition to colds and a draft is the worst thing for it. You must at once go to the expense of having the window repaired & shuting out all

[1]The well-known college of Allahabad where Motilal was educated.

[2]b. 1847; eminent theosophist and leader of the Indian National Congress; President, Theosophical Society, 1907-33; started Home Rule League, 1916; President, Indian National Congress, 1917; d. 1933.

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draft. Your letter shows that you have a fire in the room only during the day. The severest cold is at night when you have no fire. My first impulse was to wire to you to do the needful but I desisted simply because I thought you could not have failed to remedy the defect after you wrote. I am anxiously waiting for you next letter and hope to learn from it that the one inconvenience you complain of is removed.

I did not know that any special authority was necessary to enable the House Master to pay your ordinary subscriptions. I think however you can conveniently pay them yourself for the present term. As I have already told you I have authorized both Mr. Tanner and Mr. Ford to give you as much money as you require. If you run short of money do not hesitate to write to either of them for it.

I am glad to hear you have done your work as "boy" without a hitch. I have been talking about it with several friends of mine and am now convinced that acting as "boy" is one of those things which will stand you in good stead in after life. If I had only acted as "boy" in my younger days I should never have suffered all I have by the inattention and carelessness of Bhola. Besides it is one of the greatest accomplishments for a man to be able to do everything.

It is gratifying to hear that you are already on the onward march. Being sent up from your drawing division is most welcome news. I am quite sure they will have to send you up from division to division in all other subejcts till they have exhausted all their divisions.

You have done well to join the chess club. It is a very useful diversion for you once in a way. You will not of course indulge too much in it.

I have now turned the last page of your letter and given you my ideas upon what you have said. It only remains to give you the Indian news of the week. You know how monotonous life is in India and I am afraid I have not much to say about our doings. The usual press of work attending Court from day-to-day giving nearly all the rest of the time to clients at home—the same old style of spending the evenings with Durgacharan, Raja Ram & Co. and discussing men and things. What is very annoying to me is the absence of electric light. Every thing is there except an engine driver and I cannot have one for love or money.

I have taken to tennis & Sandow. The former depends upon others and they are not regular.

The enclosed slip in pencil is in Nany's own hand-writing all she was told was the spelling of the words. She does not like to remain in India and wishes to be sent to brother in England. She is hale and hearty and making fair progress with Miss Hooper. Your mother is as well as she can be expected to be. As for myself, though not quite free from cough nor any stronger than when I left India I find myself well able to cope with the heavy briefs that are flowing in from all directions.

The "Swadeshi"[1] movement is the wonder of the age. The Bengali Babus have after all justified themselves. Poor Curzon goes away from

[1]During the tumultous days of the partition of Bengal in 1905 the Indian National Congress launched the Swadeshi movement urging the people to use Indian goods only.

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India "unwept, unhonored and unsung". He had not the courage to go to Calcutta before laying down his high office. Meanwhile every Bengali has discarded everything of English manufacture. They prefer to go about in *dhoti* & *chaddar* to using cloth made in England. Their cry is Bande Mataram[1] which means, "We bow to thee our mother (country)" and they will have nothing that is not manufactured in the mother country. The executive have proved powerless to cope with this new development of national life. Steamers laden with cargoes of Manchester goods are lying in harbour at a safe distance from the "madding crowd". The one or two who attempted to land their cargoes had to retire after taking in another cargo of brickbats and other missiles. The Bengali reigns supreme throughout Bengal. He goes to office barefooted in his *dhoti* and *chaddar* and refuses to use anything of English manufacture at the risk of losing his employment. His employees cannot do without him and give him free admittance. Bengali High Court judges, barristers, solicitors, noblemen, merchants, have all discarded English costume. Thousands of indigenous industries have sprung up. We are passing through the most critical period of British Indian History. The whole Bengali race without a single exception has risen like one man to protest against the inequities of the Curzon regime. The movement is slowly spreading to other parts of India. Bande Mataram has become the common form of salutation even in Allahabad. In Bengal one shout of Bande Mataram brings thousands of Bengalis to the spot and paralyses the executive power. If this movement only continues you will on your return find an India quite different to the India you left.

The next Congress is to be held at Benares during Xmas week. It is expected to be a grand spectacle of *dhotis* and *chaddars* and some lively scenes are sure to be witnessed.

Minto[2] will arrive with your letter tomorrow noon and Curzon will leave the day after.

This is all the Indian news I can give you. I have to write letters to Brajlal, Kishanlal & Shridhar and it is time to go to bed. I will get up early tomorrow morning & write these.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]Patriotic song sung at the Indian National Congress sessions before independence. It became a symbol of full-blooded nationalism after the partition of Bengal in 1905. The poem, on which the song was based, first appeared in the *Anand Math*, a novel by Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

[2]Gilbert Elliot, 4th Earl of Minto, b. 1845; Governor-General of Canada, 1898-1904; Viceroy of India, 1905-10; d. 1914.

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41. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 23rd., 1905

My dear Jawahar,

I begin this letter by giving you the happy news of the advent of a little stranger in the family—a wee brother of yours. He chose your birthday as the most fitting time to come to this world and I cannot help attaching a significance to this circumstance. A common birthday must mean many things in common between the brothers. You will be happy to hear that both mother and child are safe and sound. The mother is of course very weak but the change to Europe immediately before the trial had fortified her to a degree. She has stood it well and I am taking every care of her. The only disappointment I feel is that we were wrong in our calculations. If I had only known the exact time of your little brother's arrival I should certainly have stayed in England. However it is no use thinking of it now. I must thank our stars that we were not so far out as to have been forced to welcome him on the voyage home.

We have not yet given him a name. I cannot think of an appropriate one. Have you any to suggest? We are going to wait till we hear from you. Meanwhile we will call him by a provisional name.

Besides the advent of the little stranger I have nothing of any importance to report this week. There is no Allahabad news except the arrival of Shamji from Hubli. As for the rest of India the *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal is gaining strength and the Bengalis are fully justifying their position as the foremost people of India. Lord Curzon has gone "unwept, unhonored, and unsung" except for the so called spontaneous messages of condolence from the ruling princes of India and the Chaprasis of the Government Secretariat. Lord Minto has come and from the very cautious speeches he has made he gives promise of a practical Viceroy. My immediate surroundings remain unchanged. Clients! Clients!! Clients!!! One small brain to cope with half the work of a High Court. The other half goes to Sundarlal.

I am delighted to hear of the progress you are making but I am not quite clear as to the nature of the "*divisions*" you speak of. You speak of being "sent up" and "low division" & "high division". I should like to know if these "divisions" are quite independent of "forms" or are contained in the "form" itself. For instance you are in M iv(i). By getting higher divisions in given subjects do you still continue to be in the same form? If so how many divisions are there in each subject in your form and what is your position in each? Without information on these points I cannot exactly appreciate the nature of the progress you are making. That it is good progress I am perfectly satisfied. It is specially gratifying to hear that you have got a double in French Prose. What about German?

I am very glad indeed to hear of your achievements at the Rifle Range

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and the sham fights and will be very pleased to read your account of the Field Day you were about to have when you wrote last. It is these things which go to the making of the men and I am happy to find that you take a keen interest in them.

It is very kind of Mrs. Tanner to take the trouble of going to see you at Harrow. I hope they have done so ere this. They will no doubt write to me after seeing you.

The last mail brought me a letter from Dr. Wood also. It was in answer to the one I wrote from some place on the voyage home and it was in consequence of my letter that he sent for you. I enclose his letter. You ought to have told him about the draft admitted into your room by the defective window. I hope you have by this time had the defect removed.

I am a little surprised at your not having yet found yourself mixed up in a "real" fight with some boy or other. Please do not suppress the information even if you got the worse of it. It will by no means be discouraging to me to hear it.

You do not also speak of any friendships that you have formed at Harrow.

Nany is making slow progress now. Enclosed is her letter to you. She has written it herself. The language is her own—the spelling that of Miss Hooper.

Your mother is of course unable to write. She asks me to give you her "unlimited" love and kisses to which I add my own.

Your loving
Father

42. To Jawahar

Allahabad
Decr. 4th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

You will be as deeply grieved to hear as I am to tell you that baby left us all of a sudden in the midst of our rejoicings day before yesterday morning. He brought us almost unbounded happiness and joy but this world of ours was not good enough for him. He has gone back to regions of everlasting bliss leaving us to plod on as best as we may in this world of woes. It seems now that our happiness was too great to last long. Unmixed and uninterrupted happiness is not given to the spirit which inhabits mortal clay and the true lesson of life lies in making proper use of one's misfortunes. Let us take them as warnings to help to chasten our lower nature and attune the higher self to the "still small voice within" which is seldom heeded except on occasions like this. I have learnt the terrible lesson and am thoroughly resigned to the inevitable. But I am a man

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and can face my misfortunes as a man. The blow has, as you can easily imagine, fallen on your poor dear mother with crushing severity. Her motherly instincts rendered all the stronger by frail health are not so easily amenable to philosophical considerations. I am however thankful to say that she is bearing up wonderfully and that her health is as perfect as it can well be after all she has gone through. You need have no anxiety for her. In spite of her losses which have been terrible enough she is grateful for what has been spared to her and quite content with the inestimable treasure she possess in you and Nanni. I will ask you therefore to think no more of the stranger who stayed with us for a while.

Decr. 5th.

Your mother is progressing well. She is gaining strength. I will resume business from tomorrow. We are gradually settling down to the old conditions of life. There is nothing particular to tell you.

Decr. 6th.

Your mother is nearly all right now though she is still keeping her bed under medical advice. She has no complaint whatever except of course weakness. I went to the High Court today but did not argue any case. I did however get through some business with clients. Will reply to your letter received by the last mail tomorrow.

Decr. 7th.

I now reply to your loving letter. I need hardly say how gratified we all were at the result of your work for the first half term. We could not possibly expect anything better. You have not only secured the first place in your form but stand at the top in each individual subject. Nothing better was possible and if you can only maintain this position to the end of the term which I fully expect you will you are sure to get a double and find yourself in the Upper Shell at the commencement of the next term. The Head Master says he is *fully* satisfied with you. The Tutor's remark in the official Report about your Form work and modern languages is "Excellent work in all subjects". Against Tick[1] & Algebra he says "good". In Geometry "Extremely neat and painstaking; shows promise". About the Pupil Room work he says "Excellent; has done some good history papers for me".

The House Master's Report is "Quite satisfactory; a very creditable stand". Your place in each subject is shown as first. All this is perfectly satisfactory. I quite agree with Brajlal who says you will very shortly find yourself at the head of the school instead of merely being at the top of the form. Go on my dearest boy applying yourself diligently to your work and you will exceed our highest hopes. Didn't I tell you soon after leaving you that there was a great and brilliant future before you?

The official Report form gives all information about the Divisions in

[1]Trigonometry.

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Mathematics and Geometry which I asked you to explain. There seems to be however some mistake about your Div. in Arithmetic and Algebra. You told me the other day that you had been sent up in Tic, but in the report you are placed in the 13th Div. which is the last. Your place in that Div. is of course first. The Geometry Div. is a very satisfactory one. There are 14 Divisions altogether and you are placed in the 10th at the top of it.

I find that the Science column is left blank in the Report. Perhaps you will take it up next term. As you know I want you specially to develop a taste for Science and Mathematics. You are no doubt doing all that can be done and nothing will please me more than to have in you the first Senior Wrangler of your year. The I.C.S. will then be child's play for you.

I was delighted to hear of your exploits on the Field Day. You have simply to protect yourself well against cold and these excursions will give you such health and strength as it is impossible to acquire in India.

I am agreeably surprised at your passing the examination in shooting and at the progress you have made at footer. You were quite ignorant of both these things when you joined Harrow. At Footer[1] specially I never had any hopes for the simple reason that it was the game of rough & burly boys and not those so delicately framed as you. In spite of your successes at this game I will advise you to play it cautiously. Don't venture beyond your strength. It will be a bad day for us all if you come out of it with broken bones as did the younger of the two brothers in the book entitled "The Brothers".

As for the whole holiday you got in honor of a Sixth former's getting a big scholarship at Oxford I think I can safely promise your school another whole holiday on your getting a bigger scholarship at Cambridge. I am confident that John Verney's achievements will dwindle down to nothing before your own. I do not think the gentleman who eased you of £ 1.10 did so unintentionally as you say most of the begging is done. You had better take more care of your money in future.

You will be in the midst of a severe winter when this letter reaches you. It is the most bracing season of the year in England and all you have to do is to protect yourself well against chills.

Thanks for the charming photos. I have sent them to be enlarged. But you have only sent the Harrow jacket photos. What about the Cadet Corps Uniform? It was this last that I was most anxious to see you in. Do have yourself taken in the Uniform at the earliest possible opportunity.

Your mother is steadily improving and is actually writing a letter to you. Nanni is as bright as ever—the happy innocence of childhood. She has been writing to you every mail and I am enclosing another letter from her. The language and writing are her own—the spelling that of Miss Hooper's.

By the way Miss Hooper is giving every satisfaction. She is more than ever devoted to Nanni who is quite attached to her.

[1]Football.

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I cannot think of anything else to write about and close this letter with love from.

Your ever loving,
Father

I am enclosing a letter received from your friend 'Basil'.
I suppose he will be at Benares in time to receive a letter from you. You had better send him one.

43. To Jawahar

Allahabad
Decr. 14th, 1905

My dear Jawahar,

You must be very busy preparing for the final examination of the term as I am writing. I am quite sure you will maintain the same standard of excellence in all subjects which was achieved by you at the end of the first half term and will get a double. The result will I fancy be announced at the end of the term and I will come to know it early in January.

Is there no such thing as a Calendar for Harrow, or any other publication giving the information which is usually contained in the University Calendars here? If so please send me a copy. I should also like to have the Oxford and Cambridge University Calendars to make my calculations about your future which I am always revolving in my own mind.

Your mother is all right now. She begins to drive out this evening and if she gains sufficient strength to undertake a short journey in a few days I shall take her to Benares & take her round the Exhibition. She will of course not be very interested in the proceedings of the Congress.

I again find myself in the swim of business and am looking forward to the Xmas holidays for a little rest and change. I am utilizing the interval between two cases of mine to write this letter in the High Court. I have to attend a lodge meeting this evening and will not be able to give much time to my correspondence at home.

On the 26th Inst. I have to be in Lucknow to entertain Royalty. The Prince lays the Foundation Stone of the new Medical College and as I have subscribed Rs 1,000/-. I am on the Central Committee and as such have to be present. Otherwise there is no charm for me in such gatherings. From Lucknow I will proceed to Benares.

They observed the Foundation Day at the Muir College for the first time this year. They held all sorts of sports and Lady Stanley[1] gave away the prizes. I was called upon to subscribe to the fund as "One of the

[1]Wife of Sir John Stanley, who was Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court, 1901-11.

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richest Muir Collegians" and had to do so. But I was not able to go and sent Nanni with Miss. Hooper. I am told by some Barrister friends that Nanni was very much admired by the ladies & gentlemen present. Lady Stanley in particular did not leave her for a minute and went on chatting with her all the time. You will be glad to hear that she has shaken off almost all her 'Jhep' and talks with every one freely. She is improving her English gradually but of course not so well as she would have done in England.

Anand Bhawan is plunged in darkness every night. I have been advertising for an electrician & engine driver for nearly a month but no application has yet been received. We have to content ourselves with Kerosene lamps and wax candles.

Mr. Keightley[1] was my guest for two days last week. He was much pleased to read the official report of the school about you. He will sail from Bombay on the 13th Jany, for England and will be in London by the end of that month. He has asked me particularly to permit you to spend a few days in each vacation with him. I have of course given the permission and I am sure you will enjoy his company. After the rough and material life at Harrow during the term it will certainly be a very desirable change to the spiritual surroundings of Mr. Keightley. I think I have already told you that Bulbul[2] and her brother (Mr. Chakravarti's children) have gone to France with Mr. Bernard. Mr. Keightly was saying that he should like to take you with him over to France to spend a few days with the Bernards. I am sure you will be pleased with the trip and I have thankfully allowed Keightley to take you. This can of course only happen during the Easter vacs.

The Blairs also will be very glad to have you as their guest for a few days in vacation time but you have of course to wait for their invitation. Meanwhile you must call on them by making an appointment. They have taken a house some-where near London but you can write to them c/o. Thomas Cook & Son and find out their exact whereabouts.

You must also keep yourself in evidence with Sir Douglas Straight[3] & see him once or twice a year. As for Sir John Edge you have not been introduced to him yet and I will do so when I go to England next.

You say you are overflowing with money but to be on the safe side I am sending £ 20 to Brajlal on your account. He will keep it with himself till you ask for it or any portion of it. I thought you might wish to purchase something in your holidays & might require money.

Keep yourself well protected against the cold. It is becoming uncomfortable here and I can well imagine what it must be in England.

On account of the occurrences of the past few days I could not have my own New Year cards printed and the most I can do is to send out

[1]Bertram Keightley, b. 1860; a British theosophist who was a devoted follower of Madame Blavatsky; d. 1944.

[2]Daughter of Dr. Gynanendranath Chakravarti; was educated in France.

[3]b. 1844; British M.P. (1870-74); Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1879-92; Fellow of the Calcutta and Allahabad Universities; Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1896-1909; d. 1914.

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some ordinary ones from Guzder & Co.

With love

Your affectionate
Father

44. To Jawahar

Benares
Congress Camp
28.12.05

My dear Jawahar,

You will see from the above that I am attending the Congress. I came specially to hear Gokhale[1] whom I had missed last year. His speech was a set one and was very much admired. I do not however think there was anything extraordinary in it. I send you the *Indian People* in which it is fully reported. I heard Surendranath[2] today and am going back to Allahabad tomorrow. There is nothing more worth seeing or hearing. The Exhibition I am told is a very tame affair. I have not seen it yet but will do so after I have finished this letter.

I was very anxious to receive the announcement of your being excused from footer on the ground of your having strained your leg. The Harrow doctor could not have excused you if he thought the injury was slight. I am waiting for your next letter very anxiously & hope to be relieved on reading it.

I left your mother in perfect health & hope will find her as I left her.

The laying of the foundation stone of the Medical College at Lucknow by the Prince of Wales was a grand function. I had the opportunity of seeing the Prince & the Princess at close quarters.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]Gopal Krishna Gokhale, b. 1866; eminent "moderate" politician; Honorary Secretary of the Deccan Sabha, served as Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference for several years and of the Indian National Congress Session held at Poona in 1895; President, Indian National Congress 1905; elected to Bombay Legislative Council; represented Bombay on the Supreme Legislative Council, 1902; opposed Lord Curzon's University Bill; visited England frequently between 1897-1914 to enlighten British public opinion on situation in India, and to plead for reforms in India; Member, Royal Commission on Public Services in India, 1912; d. 1915.

[2]Surendranath Banerjea, b. 1848; dismissed from Indian Civil Service for 'neglect of duty', 1874; founded the Indian Association, 1876; Founded Ripon College, Calcutta, 1882; President, Indian National Congress, 1895-1902; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1913-20; Minister, Local-Self Government, Govt. of Bengal, 1921-23; among the foremost of the Moderate leaders of the Congress; d. 1925.

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45. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 11th; 1906

My dear Jawahar,

Your letter with the welcome news that you were again at the top and got a prize. I never doubted for a moment that you would. Didn't I say so in my last? You thought you had not done well simply because you expected to do better. I am sure you will come quite up to your own expectations in future. I am not only quite satisfied with your work but really proud of you, my dear boy. If you only go on working steadily as you are sure to do the day is not far distant when your country will be proud of you.

I have not yet received the official report. It will probably come by the next mail. There can be no doubt now that you will get a double. A double is always easy to get but difficult to maintain. You will be expected to know more than you have learnt. The boys who will get their promotion from the Lower Shell will have the advantage of having done the work of that form and will be more prepared for the Upper Shell work than you can be. I am afraid you will have to work very hard indeed to keep up your position at the top, but there is something in me which tells me that you will do so notwithstanding. I have only two pieces of advice to give you: 1st, you are not to overwork yourself on any account & 2nd, you have my permission to have a coach or coaches in any subjects in which you want extra help. You have only to go up to the Head Master and ask him to give you the necessary help. He has given me his promise to do the needful should there be any occasion for it. He will of course charge for such assistance as may be necessary in his house bill.

I am addressing this to Harrow as you will have finished your holidays by the time it reaches you. I hope you are having a good time of it and will return to School with renovated energy.

There is very little of Allahabad news to give you. The *Magh Mela*[1] is assuming frightful dimensions. About 8 lacs of people have already assembled and thousands are pouring in every day. We are all full of excitement as the great Swamiji (the Guru of the Maharaja of Kashmir) whom you saw at Srinagar is coming to stop with us. He is expected tomorrow and I have prepared a right royal welcome for him. Premnathji and his family are not coming but Jiwan's father is with Swamiji. Cholera has already broken out at the riverside and the chances are that it will spread. Sunday next is one of the great bathing days. I am not going to see what my friends call fun. It is so discouraging to me to see my countrymen engage themselves in stupid things.

I have not yet received the books you have sent. Perhaps they were

[1]An annual bathing festival at the *Sangam*, confluence of the Ganges, Jamuna and legendary Saraswati rivers at Allahabad where millions of pilgrims bathe in the month of January.

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posted too late for the mail which brought your letter.

Your decision to take cricket instead of shooting is correct but I do wish you could do some shooting too. Cricket is after all only a game but shooting is an art which stands a man in good stead in emergencies. You will require some of it when you are a District Officer in India.

I am anxiously expecting your photograph in uniform. I am sure our imagination will supply whatever want there is in your martial looks.

What is the Game of Fives at which your school beat Eton? I am at sixes & sevens. Did you take part in the game?

I am very sorry to hear of another disgrace to your house. I cannot understand why English parents send such incorrigibles to a public school. It could not have been the first experiment of the boy who stole so much jewellery without being caught in the act. He must have done some such thing before and his parents must know it.

There is no fresh news to give you. We are all doing well except your mother who is rapidly recovering. The heat is increasing day by day but it is still pleasant.

With love

Your ever loving
Father

I sent you a whole series of Congress post-cards but you have not acknowledged one. Did they not reach you?

46. To Jawahar

Allahabad
Jany. 18th., 1906

My dear Jawahar,

Your loving letter came duly to hand but no official report from the School which I expected by the last mail. I believe they will send one at the commencement of the next term. I am sending you a copy of the official report for the first half term. I have kept the original as I intend to preserve all these reports very carefully. They are the most satisfactory records of your progress and will be very interesting to you in after life. I am also preserving every letter I receive from you & the other boys in England. Sometimes they are very useful for reference. This is the last week of your vacation which I hope you have enjoyed well. You should have gone out of London for a time. Perhaps your next letter will give some interesting details of your vacation experiences. I do not think you would be much pleased by simply running backwards & forwards between Talbot Road & Highgate.

I am glad to hear you have at least one Harrow friend in London who cared sufficiently for him to ask you to lunch. The fact that he is a swell

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does not matter as you are not likely to envy his way of living.

I hope the Tanners have treated you with the same kindness & consideration as they did on the first occasion. (I have so far been writing with copying ink. I hope it will be legible enough by the time it reaches you & that the pages will not stick together).

It is very lucky that your first winter in England has proved a mild one. You will have enough of snow in future winters.

I am not at all disappointed at your being shut out of the Torpids. All I want you to have is enough of footer to keep your health. I know the field in which you are bound to distinguish yourself is not the playground but a more lasting one or rather one where you will make a more lasting impression than any player at footer has done. It is no fault of yours that you are so backward in games. I ought to have given you footer & cricket instead of tennis.

How is it that the Tanners have never written to me since my return from England? I wrote to them from the Macedonia.

The *Kumbh* fair is in full swing. The Kashmiri Swamiji is still my guest and being thoroughly comfortable has no present intention of going elsewhere. We are having delightful weather. Bright, sunny & yet comfortably cold. Your cousin Birju has come from Lucknow to pass a few days with your mother. Dulari and her mother have come for the *Kumbh* though the former poor thing is not allowed to go out of her room.

The mango season will commence in Bombay in March and I have instructed a Bombay firm to send you fortnightly consignments throughout the season. It will be more convenient to direct the parcels to Brajlal who will always be on the spot. He will keep some for himself and send the rest on to you. I think a consignment of 50 every fortnight will be enough. Your mother has been asking me to send you other things such as *dalmoth*, *mungphali* etc. but I did not see you relish them much & did not send any. If you like some I will send you.

You have given me the date of the commencement of the next term. Please let me know when it will end & the length of the vacation after that.

Could you manage your vacation with the £20 I sent Brajlal for you?

Little Nanni is making steady progress and is doing very well indeed.

I cannot think of anything else & therefore close this letter with love from

Your ever loving
Father

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47. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
March 8th, 1906

My dear Jawahar,

I was indeed most agreeably surprised to learn that you were again at top in the aggregate though you did not do your arithmetic as well as you expected. Before the term is over I hope you will be top in every subject individually and will again secure a double move.

It is true the gymnasium takes up some of your time but I think it is as necessary as your book work. It is only 2 hours a week (so says the Public School annual) and I am rather glad that you will have to attend the gymnasium next term also as all boys have to do so in their second and third terms.

Have you by this time developed a real taste for mathematics? I do like so much to see you the first Senior Wrangler of your year.

I have not yet received the books you sent but they will be coming.

What about the little patch of baldness on your head? I have thought of it off & on but always forgot to write and ask. I hope it has disappeared. If not you must do something for it. If the barber's prescriptions do not do any good consult a doctor.

I hope you have paid up your debts out of the £ 20 you have received. I have received a formal receipt from Dr. Wood's Bankers for the last term's dues as well as those of the present. I hope you have received the second remittance I sent you (that of your birthday present money). I note your term ends on the 10th April. By the end of this month I will send you some more money for your vacation.

I have changed my mind about the motor car. Business has been very slack indeed and there has been no windfall. Owing to the prevailing high prices the ordinary household expenses amount to almost double the amount they formerly did. I am economising in every direction so as to be able to see you in August next. I have accordingly written to Mr. Keightley to consider my order for a motor car as cancelled. I will see what I can do in the matter of the purchase of one when I go to England next. You must see Mr. Keightley in your next vac. Also see Mr. & Mrs. Blair if you can find time. Their address is:

"Lal Kothi"
Hindhead—Haslemere

I am sure they will be very kind to you. So will Sir Douglas Straight. The Fords of course you are bound to see.

The hot weather has begun early. I have not yet been able to secure a house at Mussoorie for your mother etc. They all seem to be taken up. I am afraid I will have to try some other hill station. I cannot think of anything else to write about.

With love

Your loving
Father

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The consignments of mangoes will be sent to the address of Brajlal who will keep some & send the rest to you. Send a few to Dr. Wood saying that I have directed you to do so. Also treat some of the boys. The April consignments can be enjoyed by Kishan & Shridhar also who I presume will meet you in London. Out of the April consignments give some to the Tanners. By the way I have received a letter from Mr. Tanner. I am going to write to him.

What about the long promised photo in uniform? You have apparently had no field days this term or you would write about them. It is however easy to give the photographer a sitting in uniform with all its paraphernalia. Do this soon please. We will all be so glad to see it.

Have you got the charity Tails yet? I think you better have.

48. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
20.3.'06

Dear brother,

Thanks for your letter enclosing another fixed deposit receipt of Shridhar's. The money will be duly remitted to England.

Yes, the boys in England are doing very well. Jawaharlal is not coming to India so soon as you have been informed. My idea was to get him here on his completing his school career and just before he goes to the University. This is not likely to happen before the end of next year or the beginning of 1908. He is doing splendidly and getting double moves every term but I think he will have remained longer in the higher classes. However that may be there is little doubt that his mother will have him here once or twice during the time he has to pass in England. I am myself not opposed to this.

What about your own intentions of going to England in summer? Have you fixed any date of your departure yet? I wish to spend the vacation with the boys but work has of late been so slack and the expenses of the last trip so excessive that I hesitate.

Hoping you are enjoying sound health.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

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49. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
March 22nd., '06.

My dear Jawahar,

I have never missed a single mail yet and am surprised to hear from you that you did not receive any letter from me the week you wrote your last. The mail closes on Friday mornings at 10 a.m. I always write my letters the preceding night and they are posted early on Friday morning. Something must have happened to the mail bag in course of transhipment etc.

The Calcutta client has not yet turned up but has written to say that he would come soon. He is collecting the necessary papers and does not appear to have been swallowed up by one of the sharks I spoke about.

Your mother is now on her feet again and is making rapid progress. The hills will do her a lot of good. Your next letter to her and Nanni should be addressed to "Isla House" Mussoorie. I intend going with the party on Good Friday and coming back here after spending a week with them.

I was very much interested in your account of the field day with Eton. I think that the Etonians carried the day, though both behaved splendidly.

I am sorry you have lost the distinction of being 'Cock house' at the torpid matches. You were however not one of the players and I am sure you will do credit to your house in another direction. I was very much pleased to hear that you scored 91 out of 100 in the tique paper. The next mail will I hope bring the result of the half term and it will be equally satisfactory. If you get a double move again (to the Upper remove) at the end of the term you will have enough time to compete for some mathematical scholarship at Cambridge while you are in the fifth or 6th form. I do not know if they give any double moves from the Upper Shell but I see no reason why they should not specially to the top boy of the form. I do not of course want you to hurry through your school course but to take things as they come. You have lots of time before you but it must be properly apportioned. I often try to do this and my last calculation is as follows:—

Term	*Form*
Lent '06	Upper Shell
Midsummer or Easter '06	Upper Remove
Xmas '06	Third Fifth
Lent '07	Second Fifth
Midsummer '07	First Fifth
Xmas '07 Lent '08	Sixth

Age	18 years 5 months
Cambridge	3 years
Age	21-5
I.C.S. to Follow.	

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During this period I will see you every year & you will come to India once or twice.

I have not received the books and pamphlets sent by you. If they don't come by the next mail they must be taken to be lost.

I have also not received your photo in uniform which we are all so anxious to see.

Miss Hooper is thriving and the Indian climate is taking very kindly to her. She is getting fat. Dear Nanni is making rapid progress. She can spell 170 English words correctly and can repeat multiplication tables up to 3. But somehow or other she is getting very thin—just like you did at her age.

I do hope you have put on some muscle with all your field days & gymnasium exercises.

There is hardly anything worth writing about except that it is getting warmer & warmer every day and that our old friends the gnats are thriving. You never fail to hear their sweet music after sunset.

With love

Your loving
Father

The Queen of the Road maintains her reputation but the little "Black beauties" we bought in Bombay are the centre of admiration. I have bought Chakravarti's American car for them—the one he got out from America when we were at Lucknow. It suits them admirably and they go so beautifully.

The marble platform in the garden opposite my office room has been covered up and a fountain jet placed on top. The fountain on top is an original idea and is very much appreciated. It cools down the roof of the platform several degrees lower than the surrounding atmosphere and water trickling down on all sides imparts a most refreshing sensation of a warm evening.

I have not yet heard from the old Rani who was going to take over Anand Bhawan.

M.N.

This letter will reach you on or about the 7th April two or three days before the end of the term. Do not forget to enquire if you will have the same room for the next term. If so, leave orders (& money if necessary) with the proper person to renew the paper on the walls and make the room look tidy & neat.

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50. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
March 29th., 06

My dear Jawahar,

The long expected photographs have at last arrived. They are very nice indeed and have been much appreciated. I will have to get at least 2 dozen copies made here to meet the demand for them. I particularly like the one with the forage cap. Shamji is now busy in making copies. I do not agree with you in thinking that the enlargements will not be nice. Please order the photographer to make an enlargement of each about 24″×30″. The forage cap photo will give a very good bust and the other should be enlarged as it is. He can very easily take the head and shoulders from the forage cap negative. I should have had the enlargements made here but in the absence of the negatives the enlargements show grains of the paper and this to a certain extent mars the effect of the picture. The man who has taken the photo and has the negatives will be better able to enlarge them. Please have this done at once.

I have also received the books & papers sent by you. I have not yet had time to read the books but the sheets containing the names of the boys and the forms are instructive. I find several Indian names in the list. I should like to have these sheets at the end of each term.

I can quite appreciate your inability to enter into the spirit of Harrow life. An Indian boy is generally more thoughtful than an English boy of the same age. In fact there is very early development in India which Englishmen call precocity. Whatever it is, my own experience tells me that what we gain in the beginning we lose at the end. You must have seen many English boys even older than you are looking perfectly blank and stupid, but have you seen any Indian of the same age as Dr. Wood looking half so vivacious & full of life as he does? This is no doubt due to our climate but there it is.

Childhood in England occupies a much greater portion of life than it does in India—& so do boyhood and manhood—old age does not properly begin till after a man is three score & odd—an age very seldom reached in India. Big boys in England are therefore to be found committing themselves to foolish pranks, which much smaller boys in India would be ashamed of. But this is no reason why they should be despised. They afford you, who can think, an excellent opportunity to study at least one phase of human nature and thus add to your stock of that particular branch of knowledge called experience. You seem to put very little value on English public school life but let me assure you that as soon as you pass on to the 'Varsity' your thoughts will fondly turn to Harrow "Where every sport could please". And when you have done with the 'Varsity' the happy reminiscences of it will cling to you throughout life.

I am glad to say Raja Ram is showing some progress but I have serious doubts of his ultimate recovery.

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We are all doing well. We have no end of what you call "glorious days". The glory of the days here is as you know almost blinding. I pity poor Miss Hooper. This is the first hot weather she has ever experienced and she is suffering a good deal. Her hands and arms are all swollen up by gnat bites and on the whole she makes a very poor picture. We have commenced ice from today.

The Bengal client has not yet turned up but his assuring letters come in now & again. Some other Privy Council work is also promised but no one has cashed up yet. The fact is that I have not yet given out my intention to go to Europe this year as it causes a scare among the clients.

The official report of the Ist half of the term is now over due. I hope to receive it this week and to find that you have kept your place at the top.

Your next vacation will be a very short one—Only three weeks. I wonder how you will employ it. The Tanners' place having proved too dull for you, some other arrangement must be made. It will be time to do so when I come. Meanwhile you must make the most of the Tanners unless Mr. Keightley comes to your rescue and takes you over to France.

I was not aware till the other day that your friend Mr. Jagdish Chatterji of Kashmir (Mr. Chakravarti's son-in-law) was in England. He has gone to Cambridge to get some degree as an advanced student of some kind of research. His address is c/o. Thomas Cook & Son but he lives with the Keightleys. You had better see him. Chakravarti will write to him to look you up.

With love from your

Ever loving
Father

51. To Jawahar

Ritz Hotel
Piccadilly
London W
17.10.06

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS
RITZOTEL-LONDON

My dear boy,

I leave you again to the tender mercies of Harrow relying on the striking good sense you have shown yourself to possess. Take every care of yourself and continue the good work you have begun. I will write to you fully from Port Said & short letters or post cards from convenient points on the road between here & Marseilles. Kishan will send you your things after I leave.

Do write on Friday. Remember my steamer, the *Moldavia*. And now

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good bye, my dearest child.

Your ever loving
Father

I have sent a cheque for £ 40 for you to Brajlal.

52. To Jawahar

Suez Canal
S.S. Moldavia
24 10.'06

My dear Jawahar,

Your dear letter is very feelingly written and I was considerably affected by reading it. All you say is perfectly natural and you cannot help feeling miserable. I was from the very beginning very doubtful of the wisdom of the step I was taking in calling you home for the vacation. It gave us all no doubt a temporary pleasure but it ended in making the pangs of separation all the more acute. We were all more or less reconciled to the existing state of things, though I must say that I had all along been living in the hope of seeing you this year. Your mother, however, had no such hope, nor had you of seeing her this year. The pleasure was too sudden for both of you and what is more unfortunate it was too short. Do not by my saying this imagine, my darling boy, that we will in future keep aloof from you. No, quite the contrary. It is all the more necessary now than it was ever before that we should be constantly in evidence, so that these meetings and partings may become matters of ordinary course and leave no sting behind. I am sure the depression of spirit you are now suffering from will soon pass over and you will only think of the pleasure of meeting again. You had the decided advantage last year of being suddenly thrown into entirely new surroundings which diverted your attention in no time. Though you have not the same advantage this year yet there are "fresh fields & pastures new" before you in the old place & these I know will absorb all your attention.

I was delighted to have the assurance from you that you will take every care of yourself; and need I tell you, my boy, how touched I was by your loving appeal to me to look after my own health for your sake? But for the two darlings of my heart, yourself and Nanie, I would attach no importance to my own life, but as it is I fully understand that I cannot put too high a value on it. You know how careful I am of my health but of course I cannot help working hard to make the two ends meet. The last venture of mine in sinking a lot of money in a motor car was intended to bring about the necessary respite. You cannot imagine after what mental struggle I made up my mind to go in for it. The one idea that constantly inclined me the other way was that I could not have you to share my enjoyment. Considerations of my own health and want of rest

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however prevailed and I thought I would be wanting in my duty to yourself if I neglected these. And thus the die was cast in favour of the purchase.

That we shall meet again next year admits of no doubt—humanly speaking of course. But when and where and how are matters which cannot be settled now. Meanwhile be of good cheer and always remember that the spirit of your father is with you.

One word about your life at Harrow. I do not quite agree with the "Hindu Ideal" School in this matter. I am convinced that it was the right thing for you to go to Harrow and that it is absolutely necessary for you to remain there for at least another year. I can see a vast difference already between you and the other boys now in England. It is difficult to describe it but it is there all the same. It partakes more of the Western than the Eastern ideal and therefore my friends of the "Hindu Ideal" cannot see it. An Englishman will, I am sure, see it at once. If you had the time I should have been in no hurry to withdraw you from Harrow but as it is, I must do so next year, but I hope to find that you will have gained all that is to be gained there by then.

I hope Kishan has sent you the photographs. They were all received before I left and I have left a copy of each for you and the other boys.

With love

Your ever loving
Father

53. To Jawahar

Suez Canal
S.S. Moldavia
24.10.'06

My dear Jawahar,

I have written to Dr. Wood and asked him to provide the necessary coaching for the first part of the Little Go[1] this term or the next as you may require. Whether you will have it this term or the next is for you and him to decide. All that the tutor at Cambridge requires is that you should pass the first part in March and the second in June. He will look after the third part himself.

I do hope Kishan has sent all the things you left at the Hotel to Mrs. Tanner. I am writing to Tanner also.

The Red Sea
27. 10.' 06

As I was finishing the last sentence I was told that letters were

[1]The first public examination at Cambridge.

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awaiting me in the Post Office. I left off writing at once and ran for my letters. I thought I would continue this later on and wrote out a separate letter to you and several other letters which I posted from Suez.

We had a hard wind till noon yesterday but the heat is simply awful since. Perspiration is streaming down my forehead and back as I am writing but I cannot well put it off as we are due at Aden tomorrow noon.

We had a little bit of a storm day before yesterday but it passed off in no time. There was only a strong wind and a thunder storm which did not much affect the motion of the huge thing we are floating in except retarding our speed a little.

My locks have again been repaired by the Ship's Joiner and I have no fear now of my things flying about all over the place when I tranship at Aden.

There is very little space left here and I feel I must write a separate letter and tell you all about Wood and Tanner. So take the love of and read the other from

Your loving
Father

54. To Jawahar

The Red Sea
S.S. Moldavia
27. 10.' 06

My dear Jawahar,

I have told Wood that I had to enter you at Trinity College, as having regard to your age and the limits imposed by the I.C.S. regulations, there was no time to lose. I have told him about your having to pass Part I of the Previous in March and Part II in June. I have also said that you know already much of what is required for these examinations and that there was little you had to learn but that to be on the safe side both you and I thought that some coaching would be helpful. I could not enter into details with him as to the subject or subjects in which we thought the coaching was necessary but have referred him to you, leaving it to him as to what it should be and when it should begin.

This is the substance of my letter to him though with the usual formal expressions it occupies four pages.

This term I think you have enough work in your form etc. to occupy your time to devote special attention to anything outside the ordinary routine. But if I am not mistaken, you will find much in your ordinary work which will come in handy at the 'Previous'. This of course you will not fail to take full advantage of. The only holidays you will have before the examination will, I fancy, be the Christmas holidays. When the next term begins you will in all probability again have no time

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to spare from your routine work. When and how is this special coaching to come in? During the Christmas holidays you are bespoken for France. Though I have asked Wood to provide this coaching I am not myself clear how he can do so unless you give up your trip to France which would be a pity. So after all I can give you no advice in the matter and must leave you to your own resources. This is an apt illustration of the true principle of life. You may have loving and willing parents and friends to back you but it is you and you alone who must fight your own battles. But there is one advice which I must give you, and that is, don't appear at the examination unless you are thoroughly prepared for it. I do not wish you to be associated with failure in the smallest undertaking.

Your official school reports say that your weak point is French. If so, will not the visit to France be in itself a special preparation? I am sure M. Bernard will do his best to assist you in overcoming your weakness. But if you think, it will not do and you must give up the visit to France, you can do as you like. I give you a free hand in the matter, but in any case, you must not work too hard.

The Easter holidays will come in handy for the Second Part of the Examination and you will be at liberty to go to a coach if you think it necessary. But you must devote a good part of every vacation to rest and recreation and must on no account forget your physical self.

Next we come to the Tanners. I do not think you will require them at all after you go to the University. It was only the matter of a year and I have again been very liberal with them. I have agreed to the "retainer" of £ 10 for the year but have added some other conditions. These are:

(1) The retainer of £ 10 to cover all expenses of your stay with them if necessary for three weeks. In other words you will have the right to live at the Vicarage for three weeks either continuously or off and on during the year without having to pay anything over the £ 10.

(2) If you have to live at the Vicarage beyond the three weeks you will have to pay 3 guineas a week.

(3) If you do not go to the Vicarage at all the £ 10 must be paid. You will see how reasonable this is. There are about 16 weeks of holidays during the year. Three out of these are covered by the premium of £10. There remain 13. If you live the whole time at the Vicarage the additional charge will be 39 Guineas or £ 40.19 which added to the £10 makes a total of £ 50.19 which practically was the old arrangement. If you do not stay with them the whole time there is a proportionate reduction in the charge and neither party loses or gains over the bargain.

I have made the arrangement in this way as I thought you might wish to come from France in the middle of the Christmas holidays or you might prefer the old place for Easter to going to a new family. It does require some time to settle down among new surroundings and if you want to be undisturbed, the old place is by far the best. Again in this matter as in others, I leave you a free hand.

About the visit to France I think it should not be given up entirely. You may stay there as long as you are with the Bernards and the Blechs and then if you find it necessary (but not otherwise) you may go back to

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London. If you decide upon this course, you must let Bernard know, so that he may not arrange with a French family for your residence.

Shridhar gives an idea. I wonder it did not strike you or me. If you go to Cambridge next year, you and he will be attending the same lectures and working in the same laboratories. He will have done with his mathematics and will be beginning science. But he is of course more advanced than you. In any case he will be in a position to give you material help. But you must not forget the sports as he has done. The one great thing will be that you will be together.

And now I have nothing more to say except to give you my love once again. My next letter will be from Bombay.

Your ever loving
Father

I forgot to say that I have paid Mrs. Tanner a small amt. It was as follows:

Laundry	1-10-7
Carriage of parcels	6-5
Cab to Station	6-0
	2-3-0

Then there was the subscription to the Tennis Club, £ 1.10. 0 for 1905. As to this Tanner said that it was really not due as "Joe may be considered our guest at the Club, but the Club is a struggling one and if you feel inclined to pay it I shall be pleased to hand it over". I did feel inclined to pay and sent a cheque for £ 3.13.0

M.N.

55. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Decr. 6th.' 06

My dear Jawahar,

Received a short letter from you by the last mail. Also one from Wood, copy of which, I enclose. Wood of course would like to have you as long as he can, but I do not think it is necessary for you to stay at the School longer than the end of the academical year. I will write to him next week and tell him so politely. I am sending him a Christmas Card this week.

You will receive quite a number of new year cards by this mail. We are all sending them to you separately.

I am very anxious about your movements during the holidays but I hope everything is satisfactorily settled by this time.

Don't you think you had better have the same man as you have got

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for Latin or some one else to help you in French? Remember the last Report said you were "inaccurate" in French Grammar.

You are not quite right in saying that I have decided to stick to the Tanners for another year. I have merely provided a home for you in case you do not like the new surroundings to which you may find yourself transferred. By the arrangement, which I have made with the Tanners, you can always fall back upon them, when you are not more pleasantly or profitably engaged elsewhere. It is some consolation to know that there is at least one place which you can always claim. But it does not by any means follow that you are to stick to them.

I have received Mr. Tanner's reply and he is quite agreeable to the proposed arrangement. I am glad you do not consider it necessary to sacrifice any part of your holidays to the Previous. I never wished that you should do so.

With love

Your ever loving,
Father

56. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Decr. 20th., 06

My dear Jawahar,

The last mail brought me a very short note from you and there was a strain of disappointment running through it. You were neither satisfied with your specials nor with the ordinary Form work and not quite know how to manage either. I am beginning to fear that Wood may turn out to be right in what he said about its being too early for you to go to Cambridge next year. You have lots of time at your disposal and it was as much on account of your desire to get out of Harrow as my own inclination against keeping you there longer than I could help that induced me to enter you at Trinity. I am now afraid that it is putting you under a greater strain than either you or I had imagined and I am not sure if it is not wise to reconsider our decision. If you cannot be quite ready for the Little Go Part I by March next it is no use trying for it and thus losing a good place in Form in addition to counting failure at the examination. Please consult Brajlal. There is not much time between now and March next and I would on no account work you harder than it is possible for you to do easily. You cannot appear for the I.C.S. before Augt. 1912 and you have 5 years and 9 months at your disposal. If you go to Cambridge in Octr. next you will have finished your three years' course by the end of the summer vacation of 1910 & will have quite 2 years to give to the special subjects for the I.C.S. This would no doubt be more satisfactory

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than having only one year for the I.C.S., but if it cannot be, one must not think of it. Please discuss the whole position with Brajlal and come to a definite resolve which will neither entail harder work than is consistent with your health and growth nor result in failure. I am not for rushing things if they can be managed more easily & quietly.

By the time you receive this you will be thinking of leaving France and going back to England. I have heard from both Bernards and Blech & they tell me all the necessary arrangements have been made for you. They say they have not yet been able to find a family for Brajlal but I can not understand this. I thought it was arranged that the same family would do for both of you. They assure me however that both you and Braj will be comfortably provided for. I hope you are, both of you, having a good time of it. My only fear is that your Little Go is perhaps worrying you too much.

I was rather glad when M. Blech told me that there had been a delay in the delivery of the Chassis of my car to the coach builder and that it could not leave the works till some four weeks later than the stipulated time. The original arrangement was that it was to be delivered about the beginning of December. If there are no more delays it will be delivered while you & Braj are in Paris and you will thus have an opportunity of trying it. If it is not delivered by the beginning of January and I do not get here by the beginning of February I will not be able to enjoy it so much as the hot weather will be upon us soon after.

There is not much Indian news to give you. The old Lt. Governor is returning and the new one is coming. There is the usual round of garden parties and other shows.

Rammo will probably go back to Gujarat either during or after Christmas. She had prolonged her stay here in order to be able to witness the wedding of Munni Shurga at Lucknow which was to come off in January. The match however has been broken.

Dear little Nanie is thriving and your mother too is looking very well.

With love

Your ever loving
Father

57. To Jawahar

HOTEL CONTINENTAL
9, 10, 11, & 12, CHOWRINGHEE
CALCUTTA
Decr. 27th, 06

My dear Jawahar,

Last week I told you that I had given up the Congress and was going to Jaipur etc. The fates would not have it and here I am. The worst of it

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is that I have left my glasses behind and cannot read or write without them with ease. This letter will therefore be my only contribution to the English mail this week. Please tell Braj & Shridhar the reason why I am not writing to them.

The Congress is a *fiasco*. The extremists are in the ascendant and they outnumber the moderates. I am as they say "most immoderately moderate" and they cannot conceive the reason why as I am the last person in the world who can be suspected to carry favour with the powers that be. The real tug of war is to come this evening at the Subjects Committee when the extremists are going to give formal notice to the British Government to quit and hand over the reins of Government to the . . . Babus. If this resolution is agreed to be adopted, I have prepared the United Provinces to disclaim it publicly. Madras will vote solid against it, Bombay in an over-whelming majority, and the Central Provinces and the Punjab in decent majorities. But there are so many of the Bengal people that they outnumber all of us put together. There will be some excitement tomorrow.

It is nearly time to go to the Subjects Committee and I must close this letter with fondest love.

Your ever loving
Father

58. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 3rd, '07

My dear Jawahar,

I wrote my last from Calcutta just as I was going to attend a meeting of the Congress and could write but little. I am afraid I have not very much to say this week either.

I was not at all satisfied with the proceedings of the Congress of which I made a special study in order to decide upon my own attitude towards it in future. I must say that I am not very much in sympathy with the *modus operandi* of my friends of the Congress and am still in doubt as to what position I should take. I have asked Ladli[1] to send you some cuttings from the Congress papers. *Reuter* wires today the substance of an article in the *Times* about the Congress which you must have read. All I can say is that while not agreeing with the Congress in all its propaganda I consider the *Times* article a malicious lie and a slander.

Your ever loving
Father

[1]Ladli Prasad Zutshi, nephew of Motilal Nehru; m. Lado Rani.

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59. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 17th, 07

My dear Jawahar,

Last week I wrote you a very long letter. You must not expect another long one this week. The fact is I have nothing to write.

Your letter received last week only gave a description of the trouble Jagdish had over you. From what little you said of the "family" you had to reside with in Paris the only thing certain was that you could not have enjoyed your stay with the old couple. Blech however seemed to have done what he could to please you and I hope you did after all manage to have a good time of it with Shridhar. I may possibly have to go to Patna next week to argue a case in which the flower of the Calcutta bar is going to be arrayed against me. I do not however mind this. It is in my own line and when I stand up to do my duty to my client I do not care who is opposed to me. The stronger the opposition the merrier the work. But what I do mind is to have to speak at a political meeting which I am afraid I cannot escape much longer. They are going to hold a Provincial Conference of the United Provinces at Allahabad next Easter and have asked me to preside. I do not think I am qualified to do so for more reasons than one. A preliminary meeting is to be held at Anand Bhawan this evening and I will let you know the result.

There have been grand doings at Agra in honor of the Amir.[1] I have of course watched them from a distance through the newspaper reports. The Amir seems to be a remarkable character. He has certainly behaved like a king in all the functions that have been held. The Delhi Mohammadans asked for permission to kill a hundred cows on the *Id* Day when the Amir is to say his prayers at the Jama Masjid. The Amir on hearing that the Hindus were opposed to cow killing at once declared that he would not pray with the Delhi Mohammadans if they slaughtered a single cow! Doesn't this show a large heart?

There was a great crowd at the Magh mela this year also, but there were no casualties.

Your mother is all right now. Kunwar Bahadur is progressing.

I can think of nothing else at present but will keep this open till tomorrow morning.

18.1.07

The meeting was held last evening and in spite of loud protests from me they have passed a resolution to the following effect "that P.M. Nehru be asked to preside at the deliberations of the Conference". I have not yet given my consent & have taken time to consider.

[1]Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan; b. 1872; son of Abdur Rehman; succeeded him 1901; visited India 1907; assassinated in 1919.

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With love

Your ever loving
Father

60. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 24th., 07

My dear Jawahar,

I gather from your last from Paris that you did not enjoy your trip to France as you expected. This is no doubt the fault of the arrangements made. I hope to do something better for you next time.

Your school must have re-opened and you will find yourself well in the swing when this reaches you. I hope you have got your remove and are proceeding satisfactorily with your specials. I am surprised to hear that you are going to leave your French to take care of itself. I am almost certain that it is one of the subjects for Part I of your Little Go unless you intend taking German instead. If I am not mistaken one of these must be taken up. Better make sure and see that your application to your future tutor[1] at the Trinity (I forget his name) for permission to appear at the exam. reaches him in time. As I have already said there is really no hurry about it and if you are not thoroughly prepared I would rather have you wait for a few months more. You seem to be very diffident of your Latin and in this particular the school report bears you out. However go on with your specials and if you find yourself strong enough appear at the March Examination. If not put it off to June.

I quite forgot to write to Wood in answer to his letter. I am doing so this week. I will tell him that you have no more time to spend at Harrow.

The conduct of Renault Freers about my motor is simply disgraceful. I do hope Blech will carry out my instructions and break off with them.

There is some mystery connected with the "lost box". While the P & O agent at Marseilles stoutly maintains that the box was actually found, the Superintendent of the Company at Bombay says that it was never found & that what I have received is really a second purchase made by the Marseilles agent of the same goods. What I am quite sure about is that the box I have received does *not* contain all I purchased. Evidently the Marseilles agent had only a part of the purchases repeated. The only other alternative is that the Asst. at the *Pricetemps* abstracted some of the goods while packing. I am writing to the Bernards to try and clear the mystery.

[1]Sir Walter Fletcher, b. 1873; senior tutor and lecturer in Natural Sciences at Trinity College, Cambridge; d. 1933.

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I am rather nervous about my ability to discharge my duties as President of the Provincial Conference. I had not quite made up mind to accept it when I wrote last, but the news of our doings at the little meeting at Anand Bhawan soon found its way to the press and my nomination as President has now been published by all the papers throughout India. It is rather awkward to get out of it now without some very solid and substantial reason for doing so. I have therefore been compelled to accept it. It is entirely a new line for me and I have very grave doubts of being able to justify the expectations of my friends. However I have rushed into it and must bear the consequences.

What I am particularly afraid of is the student class. They have of late developed a remarkable aptitude for rowdyism and no sober and serious thinker can ever expect to secure an uninterrupted hearing from an audience composed of this element. Tilak[1] was here the other day to specially address the students. He inculcated all his wild and revolutionary propaganda and succeeded to such an extent that the students of the Muir College (specially those of the Hindu Boarding House) have assumed an attitude of open defiance to the more moderate leaders of these Provinces. Sundarlal and Malaviya are openly abused. I have so far escaped but cannot be safe much longer as my views are even more moderate than those of the so-called moderates. At present the boys declare that they will all be happy to follow my lead as they think I have given ample proof of my independent and fearless adherence to my own views in matters social etc. Whether they will think so when they hear my political views is a totally different question. I have however courted the storm and must brave it to the best of my ability. You will have a copy of my inaugural address with all the severe criticisms bestowed on it.

Jany. 25th.

The foregoing was written in Court yesterday in a hurry. I am sending a remittance (£ 66.18.9) to Dr. Wood's Bankers in payment of your last school bill. I am afraid little, if anything, of the £ 40 I left with Brajlal for you has survived your trip to France though I have no idea of what your expenses might have been. To be on the safe side I enclose a cheque for £ 25 for your pocket money.

Dulari's[2] marriage has been put off to the 16th February. Can't think of anything else.

With love

Your ever loving
Father

[1]Bal Gangadhar Tilak, b. 1856; eminent politician and nationalist leader; belonged to the "extremist" group in the Indian National Congress; edited *Kesari* and *Mahratta;* sentenced for sedition, 1897-98; deported to Burma, 1908-14; founded Home Rule League 1916; d. 1920.

[2]Raj Dulari, wife of Shridhar Nehru.

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61. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Feb. 7th., 07

My dear Jawahar,

The chief event of the week was the arrival of Mr. Gokhale at Allahabad and the political speeches he made. He arrived on Sunday afternoon. I was present at the platform among others to receive him. The students were not allowed on the platform but they crowded the over-bridge and were present in large numbers outside the station. As soon as the train drew up cries of *Bande mataram* were raised from all directions. Gokhale got into my cabriolet and as soon as I took my seat beside him the boys surrounded the "Queen of the Road" and wanted to take her off and draw the cab themselves—poor Gokhale's entreaties & protests notwithstanding. Had it not been for the fact that the mare was thoroughly well trained and did not budge an inch many students including Gokhale & myself would have come to grief. We managed however to jump off. Gokhale spoke to the students for some minutes & even threatened to go back to Calcutta if they insisted on drawing his carriage but the boys wouldn't listen to anything and he was after all drawn in Mohanlal's carriage from the station to Tej Bahadur's[1] house where he put up—a procession of carriages following him amidst deafening cries of *Bande mataram & Gokhale Ki Jai* etc. etc. The first lecture was on Monday afternoon at which I presided. It was on "The work before us" and was a masterpiece of close reasoning and sound common sense expressed in the best and purest English. I cannot of course say that I agreed in all he said but there was not much that I could quarrel about. The subject of Tuesday's lecture was 'Swadeshi' but though very instructive and full of statistics I am inclined to think it was not the success it was meant to be. The speaker seemed to me to be afraid of putting his strong views in appropriate language before the audience and cautiously felt the ground before he ventured on it. Malaviya was to preside at this meeting but he turned up half an hour late and Ramanand Chatterji[2] was put in the chair. Yesterday afternoon there was to be a garden party at Anand Bhawan to which all the leading Indians and European ladies & gentlemen were invited. There is however a strange fatality about parties held at Anand Bhawan. The long delayed winter rains chose the very hour fixed

[1]Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, b. 1875; eminent jurist and leading lawyer, best known among the Indian Liberal leaders, Law Member, Governor-General' Council,s 1920-23; associated with the framing of Constitution at different stages in India prior to independence; on several occasions served as a mediator between the Indian National Congress and the Government of India on crucial legal and constitutional issues; d. 1949.

[2]Ramananda Chatterjee, b. 1865; Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad; started *Parbasi* 1901 and *Modern Review* 1906; an ardent supporter of the Indian National Congress till the Surat split; President, Hindu Mahasabha session held in 1929; d. 1943.

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for the party to come down in torrents. Very few therefore could come. The lecture that followed at the Kayasth Pathshala was crowded by students. The subject was "A few words to students". Sundarlal presided. This was a greater success than the second lecture but by far the best was the first. At the conclusion of the lecture we all drove back to Anand Bhawan and had swadeshi dinner consisting of *puris* etc. After dinner Gokhale left from the Prayag Station for Fyzabad.

I see the Tanners have come in for a large share of your patronage. I was almost sure that you will feel attracted to them. Please keep careful note of the time you spend with them as they have to be paid by the week.

There is nothing more of any importance that I can tell you this week. In spite of my resolution to stick to Allahabad I am afraid I will have to go to Bankipore (Bihar) to break a lance with the Advocate-General of Bengal. I got no time to study Indian economics & prepare myself for the Presidential address at the Conference. I do not know how I will be able to manage it—specially in the present stormy condition of the political atmosphere.

Dulari's marriage is again said to be fixed for the 16th. Your mother and Nanie will go on the 12th about the time I leave for Bankipore.

Beyond the telegram I received a fortnight ago there has been no further news of the motor car.

With love

Your loving
Father

62. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Feb. 21st., 07

My dear Jawahar,

I came back from Lucknow on the 17th. Your mother and Nanie are expected tomorrow. I hope they will remember the mail day as they arrive here in the afternoon after the Express leaves Allahabad.

I have become public property since my election as President of the first United Provinces Conference. My old friend, the *Citizen*, has renewed his attacks and even the Paris Exhibition affair is being dragged into the discussion. There is something in almost every issue of the paper mostly against me. I am a *Bideshi*, I liked Indians to spend their money in England, I am a *tamashawala* & so on. With the exception of the *Citizen* however the other papers have always a good word to say. I have just received a notice signed by a dozen college students and some "Swadeshi" dealers in the city that if I do not include the boycott in the programme

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of this Conference I will be hooted down. So you will see that things are getting lively. But whatever happens you may rest assured, my dearest boy, that you will have no cause to be ashamed of your father. The greater the opposition the merrier it is for me. Uphill work is the one thing I enjoy. I cannot send you all the cuttings as I do not get all the papers and they are too numerous to send.

I was introduced to Sir John Hewett[1] the other day at his special request at a garden party given in honour of Dr. Thibaut who has been appointed Registrar of the Calcutta University and is soon going to leave us. The new L.G. is a strong and determined man so unlike La-Touche.[2] He took me into his confidence at once and talked most freely.

The motor has at last left Marseilles & is now on the way to India. It is expected in Bombay on the 1st [of] March and here about a week later. Oster & Co. of Calcutta to whom the Raja of Amethi[3] is largely indebted & who expect me to help them in realizing their money have taken the trouble to instruct a man specially for me. I have therefore secured the services of the right man. But what about its being a further proof of my being a confirmed *Bideshi*? Would you advise me to wait till motor cars are manufactured in India[?].

By the way Master Manzar Ali[4] is one of the great Captains of the boycott movement in Allahabad. The Mohamedan students mostly follow his lead.

I am glad to hear of the progress made by you in your Tique, Science and French Prose. The Divisions you are placed in are all satisfactory.

Your explanation of the extracts I made from your letter about your marriage was anticipated by me. You might have gathered as much from the tone of my letter. It is all right my boy. You may leave your future happiness in my hands and rest assured that to secure that is the one object of my ambition.

Col. Olcott[5] is dead & Mrs. Besant succeeds him. You will no doubt read of the appearance of the Mahatmas and other details in the papers. I wish they had not allowed these things to go into the papers.

I had almost forgotten to say that the Lt. Govr. has, in confidence of

[1]Sir John Prescott Hewett, b. 1854; entered I.C.S., 1877; Home Secretary, Government of India, 1894-1902; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, 1902-04, Member, Governor General's Council, 1904-07; Lieutenant-Governor, U.P., 1907-12; Conservative M.P., 1922-23; d. 1941.

[2]Sir James John Digges La Touche, b. 1844; joined I.C.S., 1867; Member, Legislative Council, North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1891; Chief Secretary to Government North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1893-1901; Lieutenant-Governor, U.P., 1901-06; d. 1921.

[3]Bhagwan Baksh Singh, b. 1869; succeeded Madho Singh of Amethi in 1891 who had adopted him; granted K.I.H. medal in 1902.

[4]Manzar Ali Sokhta, son of Mubarak Ali; lawyer, delegate to the U.P. Congress Committee at the Lucknow Congress, 1916; Joint Secretary, Allahabad, Home Rule League; involved in Khilafat movement and Congress activities in Allahabad; worked closely with Kamaluddin Jafri, Syed Hyder Mehdi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

[5]Col. Henry Steel Olcott, b. 1830; author and philosopher, founder President, Theosophical Society, 1875; served during American Civil War as Special Commissioner of the War Department; d. 1907.

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course, assured me that the High Court will not be removed from Allahabad. He asked me to "finish up my beautiful residence" not knowing that I had no money to spend on it. I am working hard as usual but there is no money coming in. I do not count the small sums that one gets in the High Court. They are just enough for one's daily wants.

Tej Bahadur, one of the Secretaries of the Conference has just turned up and I must close this letter.

With love

Your loving
Father

63. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
April 19th., 07

My dear Jawahar,

I wished very much to send you my speech at the Social Conference but as it was not a written one and there were no reporters I had to give up the idea. I find now there is a small paragraph in the notice of the Conference published in the Indian Social Reformer. I send a cutting from it. The speech of course could not be reproduced but the little paragraph & the few sentences quoted will give you some idea of what the whole was like. It was a stunner even to those who considered themselves to be advanced social reformers.

As I expected both Naushad Ali & Pertab Bahadur[1] have written to me asking for appointments. The former does not say why but the latter is quite outspoken and wants me to let him have an 'honour' on which he has set his heart adding that I am already too great a man to care for such trifles. This shows clearly that the only objects these men have in view is to be dubbed 'honourable' without any regard to the duty and responsibility which the position carries with it. I have however no desire to come in their way but the Committee backing me up would not listen to it. I must of course give them the appointments they seek but I do not know what will happen.

Your last letter has made me nervous, and I do not expect your next with the same confidence about the result of the Little Go as I did your last. But I have not yet ceased to hope for the best.

After saying you stopped with the Tanners for a time you ask "where-else could I stay?" It is for Brajlal to answer this question. It was he who gave me to understand that decent English families taking in paying-guests were as plentiful as black berries & that arrangements could easily be

[1]Pertab Bahadur Singh, Taluqdar of Kila Pratapgarh.

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made. Where have they all gone [?] I myself do not wish you to pass all the time with one family. But for obvious reasons I cannot find you another while I am here.

The last mail also brought your school report which assigned you as distinguished a position in form work & the other subjects as its predecessor had done and what is more there was the same chorus of praise in the remarks columns with the addition of a pious wish that you may be successful in the examination at Cambridge! I do hope that wish has been realized.

You were not quite settled as to how and where you would pass your vac. when the last mail left. I hope you had a good time of it with Braj and Jiwan. By the way the latter's wife has presented him with a son and heir! That is a good beginning.

With love

Your loving
Father

64. To Jawahar

Rae Bareli
9.5.07

My dear Jawahar,

I came here with Nanie and Miss Hooper day before yesterday for Lila's[1] wedding. Your mother was decidedly better but not strong enough to travel. The idea was to come by motor and take short trips from here but shortly before I left the car developed unusual noises and eventually refused to go. There being no competent mechanic in Allahabad I had it sent by rail to Lucknow. I am going to Lucknow this evening with Nanie & Miss Hooper and if the motor is all right will motor back tomorrow morning.

The day I left Allahabad there was a general rumour in the city that Swadeshists and boycotters had determined to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Mutiny of 1857 on the 10th May (tomorrow) by starting a procession from Katra which would first destroy the *Pioneer* offices and then proceed to the city through Colonelgunj burning and destroying everything *Bideshi* that they could get hold of. Events in the Panjab[2] have made the authorities nervous and I am told the police and the military

[1]Daughter of Biharilal Nehru, m. Raj Kishan Gurtu.

[2]The agrarian unrest in Punjab and the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh caused much resentment among people. Certain other measures adopted by the Government to prohibit public meetings in East Bengal and Assam to curb the agitation launched in the wake of the partition of Bengal aggravated the problem. Militant sporadic uprisings took place along with intense political movement.

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have been warned. It is nothing but a hoax. I have confidently left my people behind.

The Lahore and Rawalpindi riots the facts of which have already been cabled to England were most unfortunate. No good can possibly come out of them. Many innocent persons are bound to suffer.

The heat is getting intense. The election tactics have disgusted me and I have made up my mind to have nothing to do with it. Out of 21 electors from 21 different districts 8 are Mohammadans who will on no account vote for a Hindu. The remaining thirteen consist of *one* rival candidate who has no hesitation in voting for himself (Raja of Partabgarh), *three* bribe-takers who will not vote without being bribed, *four* under the complete influence of candidates other than myself and *five* who have promised their votes to me. There was thus no chance for me even if I showed fight. I think Naushad has the best chance against the others around as he is with 8 Mohammaden votes. He wants only three more votes which he is sure to get.

With love

Your ever loving
Father

65. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
May 17th, '07

My dear Jawahar,

You must have come to know the great news of the week soon after the event to which it relates happened in London. The whole position can be summed up in a very few words. A set of moral cowards has been put at the head of an administration which is to govern a people who are both moral and physical cowards. The latter kicked up a row in the hope of impressing the former with their own power and importance. The former got frightened and not knowing exactly what to do and how to account for the existing state of things laid their hands on the most prominent man in the Panjab, simply with the object of over-awing the people. This had the desired effect and the net result of the whole was to sacrifice a much better (though somewhat misguided) man than all the parties concerned. Perfect order reigns in the Panjab and elsewhere. Meetings are no doubt held where they are not prohibited but an impartial observer cannot help noticing a change of tone which amounts to a confession of cowardice. The advocates of Swaraj have made themselves scarce. The heads of the different communities are anxious to show their loyalty to the Government. The arrest & deportation of Lajpat Rai[1]

[1]b. 1865; prominent "extremist" leader of the Indian National Congress; author,

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unjustifiable and inexcusable as it is has shown what stuff our countrymen are made of. It is nothing but a storm in a teapot, and it is all over now—only we are put back half a century. The forces which were slowly & silently working for the good of the country have received a sudden check. For all this we have to thank the Extremist[s] . . . .

A meeting of sympathy with Lajpat and indignation at the action of of the Govt. is to be held in Allahabad on Sunday. I was asked to preside but have declined.

You will continue to hear exaggerated accounts for some time to come. It is in the interest of both the Govt. and the people to exaggerate. Each has to justify its own action. Do not be carried away by these accounts. Take it from me that nothing further will happen to disturb the public peace. Repressive measures will no doubt follow one another though goodness only knows what is there to be repressed.

We are all right.

With love

Your loving
Father

66. To Manzar Ali[1]

27th May, 1907

Dear Manzar Ali,

I am not quite sure that you have correctly understood the attitude I have adopted towards you and have therefore made up my mind to communicate with you directly so that there may be no misconception about the action I have already taken and that I intend to take.

To begin with you must understand distinctly that if I had one of my own boys to deal with instead of you I should have acted exactly as I have if the circumstances were the same. The only possible difference could be that while in the case of those boys I should have been able to nip the mischief in the bud, I was not in your case even aware of it till it was nearly done! and this simply because you have not been in touch with me ever since you began to think for yourself though you have all this time lived in practically the same house with me.

The next thing I wish to impress upon you is that I do not expect you to change your views however widely they may differ from mine simply to please me. You are fully entitled to hold your own opinion about matters in general, whether political or otherwise. But I have every right to expect

journalist, edited *Punjabee*, *Bande Mataram*; prominent Arya Samaj leader; deported, 1907; President, Indian National Congress, C lcutta Session, 1920; severely wounded during anti-Simon Commission demonstration in Lahore as a result of which he died soon after in 1928.

[1]This is a copy of the letter addressed to Manzar Ali by Motilal Nehru.

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that no one living in my house will so conduct himself as to bring discredit on me or my house. You have chosen to associate yourself with people whose methods I entirely disapprove and whose movements I have good reasons to believe, are watched by the authorities. Such people are not welcome at my house and those living in it owe it to me to keep them out.

What I told your father was that the college being closed for the vacation you could very well take a holiday out of Allahabad and thus be kept out of the influences at work here for a time.

The next I heard of it was that you had gone to Cawnpore. A few days after I sent a note in writing to your father saying that it was my *wish* that you should not attend political meetings, public or private, as long as you continue to be a student at college and that if you did not care to comply with that wish, you need not expect any help from me. The next day your father asked me what was to happen if you did not agree to act as I wished. The only possible answer was that in that case you had better take care of yourself and that Anand Bhawan was not the place for you. He then asked me if he could live with you in a hired house in Colonalgunj or elsewhere. This I had neither the right nor the wish to prevent and told him so. The last that I have heard is that your father is looking out for a house from which I infer that you have refused to follow my advice.

After this very little remains to be said. But I can not treat the incident as closed without making one last attempt to save a young and promising life from ruin especially when the life concerned is that of a young man who has grown up from his earliest infancy in my own house and under my own eyes.

I have no wish to discuss the various political propaganda with which the atmosphere is at present thick. Nor is it necessary for me on this occasion to enter into the vexed question whether or not students generally should be prohibited from taking active part in the political movements of the day. I have only to deal with the case of one student and I know that his taking such part is neither good for himself nor for his country.

You have less than a year and a half to complete the course of study on which you have entered & qualify yourself for the real struggle of life of which in spite of your so called advanced ideas you can have no adequate conception. You know your father has not the means to keep a separate house and establishment and find the cost of your education to its completion however near it may seem to be. The inevitable result of your not listening to my advice will be that your education will come to an abrupt stand before you can qualify yourself for one profession that is open to you! All the fond hopes of your parents who have for years past pitched themselves to provide for your physical and intellectual wants will be dashed to pieces; and you will lose the sympathy of the one man who has stood by you & *yours* all these years. And for what? Surely you are not mad enough to think that by attending political meetings and neglecting your studies you will bring about the salvation of India within the next 18 months and that if you do not continue to do so that salvation will for ever be retarded! If you think so you are quite welcome to follow your own inclinations and bear the inevitable consequences which you may rest be

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assured will neither work out your own salvation nor that of your country.

This is the turning point of your life and your action at this juncture will make or mar your future career. I offer you a . . . [illegible] and give you another *opportunity* to realize the situation. In doing so I do not ask you to sacrifice your principles or act contrary to your opinions. I am simply asking you to do the first and foremost duty you owe to yourself, your relations and friends and the country at large, to arm yourself for the struggle before you engage in it. I give you the chance of being the better able to follow your own principles and opinions should you still hold these after you are in a position to stand firmly on your own legs. It is for you to take the opportunity or throw it away as you please. I have done my duty and given you a timely warning.

Yours affectionately

67. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
June 28th, '07

My dear Jawahar,

We have just returned from the King's birthday parade. It was a poor show as there is only one European and one Native Regt. here.

I have little to tell you this week. None of the "42 brave Rajputs"[1] has yet made his appearance at Anand Bhawan or elsewhere in Allahabad. A few petty thefts dignified by the name of dacoity have taken place at Cawnpore which shows that the "brave" band is on the move westwards. What an efficient Police we have!

The last mail brought the full text of Morley's[2] Budget Speech.[3] It is the most disgraceful rodomontade I have ever seen. For distortion and perversion of facts and disingenuous argument recommend me to "Honest John". We now pronounce his name in the Hindustani way "Jan Marli" for has he not killed all political aspirations of the Indians? Perhaps we did not deserve better.

[1]A band of dacoits who called themselves "42 Brave Rajputs". Their practice was to demand ransom and to commit robbery if refused. Motilal, however, refused to yield to threats, and was left unharmed.

[2]John, 1st Viscount Morley, b. 1838; a leading Liberal politician, journalist, philosophical critic, and biographer of Gladstone; ardent supporter of Irish Home Rule; Liberal Member of Parliament, 1883-1908; Secretary of State for India 1905-10; He along with the Viceroy Minto secured the enactment of Indian Council Act of 1909 popularly known as Morley-Minto Reforms which envisaged among other things communal and separate electorates in India; d. 1923.

[3]In his Budget speech in June 1907 Morley had severely criticized the educated classes in India and had observed that government machinery could not be entrusted to them even for a week.

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You must by this time have done with all your examinations & I hope with satisfactory results. You have however a whole month yet at Harrow as I see from the Calendar you have sent me. I do not know what is the practice at Harrow when a boy leaves the School for good. I think you ought to say good bye to your friends in a proper way. Give them lunch or dinner as you please but of course not to make a laughing stock of you if such a thing is unheard of at Harrow. You must have seen boys leaving & you know what, if anything is to be done.

I am afraid there is little chance now of our meeting this year.

With love from

Your ever loving
Father

68. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
26.7.'07

My dear Jawahar,

I was delighted to learn from your last letter that you had done so well at Part II of the Previous. You have thus closed your career at School with every success and credit that one could possibly expect. Need I tell you how happy and proud I feel?

Your admission into Trinity being now assured you enter on the second stage of your education which promises to be even more successful than the first. It was lucky that you could get into Harrow one of the premier schools of England, and it is equally lucky that you have been able to secure admission into Trinity a College with a great name and a great history. It would be something for any man to speak about his connection with these great institutions, but in your case I am perfectly certain that it will be the institutions who will own you with pride as one of their brightest jewels. I am sure they will profit as much as you will by your connection with them. Go on working my dear boy as you have been—good, solid, steady work interspersed with a fair amount of recreation, amusement and exercise—and you will shine out as one of the leading lights of your time.

Your success satisfactory as it is brings with it a host of new anxieties to an anxious father devoted to his children. There is first the question of comfort in entirely new surroundings and then the adoption of a settled plan for future action. It won't do to shift from one position to the other without knowing where you are at any given time.

As for the first question, I am determined to see that you are thoroughly comfortable. You have been living in a cage for the last two years and you must have good large rooms comfortably (though not luxuriously) furnished in some healthy and clean quarter of Cambridge. I say this as I am almost sure that you will not get rooms in the College itself for the

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first few terms. If you get rooms in the College there will of course not be much to pick & choose from, but lodgings there are of all sorts and you can easily find what suits you best. Jagdish will be back in England some time in Septr. and I think will be of great assistance to you in this matter. He is at present in Kashmir but is expected back in a week or so. I will give him full instructions about lodgings etc. but it is as well not to depend upon him entirely. After his examination Brajlal will be able to go about with you and Shridhar having passed two good years at Cambridge ought also to be of some (though I am afraid not much) assistance to you. Any way you must shift for yourself and not depend entirely upon others. Don't take lodgings for longer than a term at a time.

The next thing is a riding horse. This you must have as early as possible and must take your riding exercise regularly. I have been talking about it to Keightley and I think he is quite right in thinking that a periodical arrangement with one of the livery stables would be far more preferable to buying and keeping a horse. You will have some variety in the animals you ride and Keightley assures me that you can have the finest thoroughbreds from these stables. While having this advantage you will be freed from all care of the animal itself. Keightley will give full instructions to Jagdish but in the matter of selecting a horse you must make your own choice.

You must join the Union Society at once and also a boat club. Pass every minute of available time in the open air—either on the river or the turf—and please do not go near the *Majlis* or the Native Club or whatever it is called.

The next thing is about studies. I think it was decided when I was in England last that you were to take the Science Tripos. I am not aware of anything having happened since to induce me to change that decision. I had a talk with Chakravarti on the subject the other day. He was not sure that they gave enough instruction in Mathematics to Science students. In that case you will have to go to a mathematical coach. As to this however you will be able to make up your mind after a term or two. If you find that your knowledge of mathematics falls short of what is required to give you a good grasp of your science subjects go to a coach at once. In selecting your subjects please do not forget what is required for the I.C.S.

Then there is the Bar. I think both you & Shridhar must begin to eat your dinners at one of the Inns of Court. There is of course nothing to be done at present except the eating of dinners. On hearing from you I will write to Ford to get you admitted somewhere. Have you any special inclination about any particular Inn or Temple?

I am sorry I caused you some pain by telling you of my mishaps. I am glad to say that there have not been any more since.

The High Court will close for the long vacation on the 15th Augt. I have a case at Shahjahanpur from the 14th. After I have finished that my only occupation will be motoring all over the country. I have not yet finally decided about our shifting to Lucknow but will soon do so.

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With love

Your loving
Father

I was forgetting that Shridhar will also be compelled to go into lodgings as he says he will be treated as a 4th year man. In that case you will of course like to 'dig' together. I see no harm in this. It will perhaps be more economical and knowing you both as I do I have no fear that it will in any way interfere with your studies.

M.N.

Not knowing where to address you I direct this letter to the Vicarage.

M.N.

69. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Augt. 1st., 07

My dear Jawahar,

Your last was written when you were pressed for time to go to Lords for the Eton-Harrow cricket match and I expect your next will be full of the great doings of Harrow at the match. We know the result already through the good offices of *Reuter* but the details will be very interesting.

I have very little to tell you this week. Jagdish has not yet returned from Kashmir but I hope to see him next week and give him full instructions about the various matters I mentioned in my last.

The application for leave to appeal to His Majesty-in-Council in the Amethi Case has been disposed of by the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh. I think I told you in one of my letters that my duty clashed with my interest in this particular case. I am now glad to inform you that duty has conquered interest and I have induced the Court to hold that the leave asked for should not be granted. This is however not the end of the case. There is yet one more step available to the other side and it is to move the Privy Council to grant special leave. But the chances are that no special leave will be granted.

The only other news of the week is that there has been a meeting of the Standing Congress Committee at Bombay to consider the present situation and decide what steps if any should be taken. Malaviya & Tej Bahadur went from Allahabad. The latter has returned today and gives a poor account of the proceedings. Bengal and the Panjab, the two provinces most interested were unrepresented. There was only one extremist

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of any note from Nagpore—a Mr. Khaparde[1]—who made some silly proposals about boycott and Swaraj and was soon put down by Sir P. Mehta.[2] They could not however come to any definite conclusion and decided to wait for further developments. The patriots returned home no wiser than they had left it.

Wife and I have decided today to stay in Allahabad during the vacation. It is no use throwing away money by going to Lucknow. Putting it at the very lowest it will cost us not less than Rs. 1000/- a month on top of the regular expenses of Anand Bhawan. If we go to Lucknow at all it must be for at least three months if not four. It is madness to spend Rs. 4000/- at Lucknow when an extra thousand or two will take us all to England and last us for the same period if properly managed. The only thing is that the Allahabad doctors are no good at all, but a few hundred rupees will bring the most competent doctors available in any part of the country on the spot at short notice.

I am most anxious to know your plans for the holidays. I hope your next will give the necessary information.

With love

Your loving
Father

70. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Augt. 30th; 07

My dear Jawahar,

When you wrote last you were a fixture at the Vicarage. You said you could find no trace of Shridhar and the latter complained that you did not acknowledge his letters. I hope you did at last manage to come together and are now enjoying your holidays as best as it is possible.

It is very strange that you did not get your Indian mail the week you wrote. I never miss a single mail even if it be simply to tell you that there is nothing to write. It may be that the letters having to be redirected may have reached you later on.

Poor little Nanie has had to get two of her milk teeth taken out to

[1]G.S. Khaparde, b. 1854; an ardent follower of Tilak; Vice-Chairman, Amraoti Municipality for nearly 17 years ; Member, Imperial Legislative Council; Chairman, Reception Committee Amraoti Congress, 1897 ; Vice-President, Indian Home Rule League 1918; d. 1938.

[2]Pherozeshah Mehta, b. 1845; Bombay Barrister; Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1887-89, 1893-94 and Imperial Legislative Council, 1894-96, 1898-1901; President, Indian National Congress, 1890; one of the influential "Moderate" leaders, d. 1915.

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make room for the permanent teeth. I took her to Lucknow for the purpose on Monday last. The operation was very successful attended by the least possible pain.

I have sold my motor car to the Raja of Amethi for Rs. 20,000. It was a beauty and there was nothing in the country to compare with its smooth and noiseless running. But it was very heavy and the death rate in tyres was frightful. In six months I burst nine tyres costing Rs. 225/- each! Besides the quantity of petrol required to run it was twice as much as any other car of the same power but lighter body would take. For all these reasons I have parted with it and made a little profit out of it. It cost me Rs. 18500 landed here. I cannot of course go without a car now that I am used to motoring and am looking out for a cheaper and less expensively running car. The Raja has allowed me to keep the one sold till I get another.

Morley's long promised reforms have at last been published. They are as was expected from an old imbecile like Morley just the opposite of reforms. His Advisory Council of Noodles (I beg his pardon—I mean Notables) will be a huge farce and the enlarged Legislative Councils will be no more than a collection of *Jo-huzoors* little better than District Boards where the opinion of the Chairman (who is always the Collector of the District) is dittoed by every member. The avowed object of the so-called reforms is to destroy the influence of the educated classes but the law of the survival of the fittest is too strong even for Morley.

His selection of K.G. Gupta[1] for a seat in his own Council is as unfortunate as his "reforms". The man though a Bengali by birth is an inveterate hater of his own countrymen. The other man selected, Syed Hosain Bilgrami,[2] is however in my opinion the very best that could be found among the Mohammadans.

A whole year has gone by and I have paid the Tanners nothing. You did not tell me what I owe them. I am writing to them today. Please ascertain and let me know what your initial expenses at Cambridge will be so that I may put you in funds in time.

I have improved a great deal under Dr. Ohdedar's treatment and have for the present deferred my visit to Calcutta. There is nothing else that I can think of.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]b. 1851 ; entered I.C.S., 1873; Divisional Commissioner, 1901; Member, Bengal Board of Revenue, 1904; sent to Europe and America on a fact-finding mission regarding fisheries, 1907; first Indian member to be nominated to the India Council according to the Indian Council Act of 1909, d. 1926.

[2]Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk (Syed Hassan Bilgrami), b. 1844; taught Arabic at Canning College, Lucknow, 1866-73; Private Secretary to H.E. Sir Salar Jung 1873-83 and later to H.H. the Nizam; Member, Indian University Commission, 1902-03; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1901-03 ; Member, India Council, 1907-09; Chief adviser to Salar Jung III, 1912-13; played an important role in the founding of All India Muslim League; d. 1926.

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It is now fully a year that your last photo was taken. Send me a holiday group of you all or as many as can come together and when you go to Cambridge have one taken in your cap and gown. Send two dozen copies of the latter as the demand of your photos is very great.

By the way do not forget to get yourself enrolled as a volunteer if it is at all possible. Jagdish told me that there is a club at Cambridge called the Field Club by joining which you become a member of various things, cricket, rowing etc. etc. You must join this. You must also remember that entertainment of the leading people at Cambridge now & then is a very necessary item of expenditure. I want you to be the most popular young fellow and the most distinguished graduate of Cambridge.

M.N.

71. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 15th. 07

My dear Jawahar,

I am glad to find from your last letter that you have settled down at Cambridge & also that you have taken to boating in right earnest. I am told a Cox has no easy time of it and I am sure you have ere this found out that there is some exercise in it too. But you must not allow your coxing to interfere with practical physics or any other subject. As I have already said more than once you must hold the balance evenly between sport and study & see that neither suffers by over indulgence in the other.

As usual the new baby[1] has been given a number of names. "Krishna Kumari, Braj Kumari, Indra Kumari, Raj Kumari, etc." Braj Kumari looks like usurping Brajlal's daughter's name but as one of Rammo's sisters bears that name her daughter could not be given the same name. Indira Kumari is after the name of my mother which was "Indrani". Raj Kumari is the most favourite name in the house but I do not like it as so far from aspiring to be a Raja I do not pretend to be even "a natural leader".

So Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh[2] have at last been released. It was a clever move to set them free on King's[3] birthday so as to give it the appearance of an act of clemency and not a release as of right. The *Pioneer* of course does not like it. I do hope Lajpat Rai will now proceed against the Civil & Military Gazette & other papers who have been maligning him and

[1]Betty (Baby/Babs) Krishna Nehru; b. 1907; daughter of Motilal Nehru; m. Raja Hutheesing; took part in freedom movement; d. 1967.

[2]Indian revolutionary, deported to Mandalay in 1907; fled to Persia in 1908 and worked for Indian freedom abroad; d. 1947.

[3]King Edward VII, son of Queen Victoria, King and Emperor, 1901-10.

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thus lay bare before the world the real truth. He cannot of course proceed against the Government but the share of the Government in the matter can easily be brought out in the course of the trial. If I were he I would institute proceedings in England (the King's Bench) so as to admit of no garbled cablegrams being sent from here.

The past week has been a very busy one for the "natural leaders". There was first a Darbar held by the Lieut. Govr. and then loyalty demonstrations – one by the 'not-ables' of the whole province Hindus & Mohammadans & the other by the Kshatriyas. The former address compares the 'not-ables' to "trouts" and the educated classes to "minnows". "Trouts and minnows" has thus become quite a classical phrase. There was the usual stupid effusion of loyalty in both addresses and the L.G.'s reply, if anything, surpassed the addresses in stupidity. The "minnows" of course had nothing whatever to do with any of these demonstrations, which have amply shown how weak & blundering the Govt. is.

We are going to have a counter demonstration next week—though also a loyal one—in connection with Lajpat Rai's release.

With love

Your loving
Father

72. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
28.11.'07

My dear Jawahar,

You are a funny boy to say that you have been expecting a cheque while I have been expecting you to ask for one. However it has gone last week and I hope will arrive just in time.

B.C. Pal[1] has after all disappointed even you. He has had the weakness to appeal to the Calcutta High Court against the sentence passed on him by the Magistrate. Is this consistent with his preachings? The appeal was of course dismissed. I have again been compelled to subject myself to public criticism. Enclosed is a cutting from The *Pioneer* of today. I am fully prepared for a regular onslaught from the Extremists but have made up my mind to take no notice of it. The *Pioneer* is deteriorating in get up etc. There are numerous misprints in the cutting I am enclosing but one of them is most unfortunate. The words "Natural leaders" have been printed as "National leaders" and it makes the whole sentence meaningless. I intend to send another short letter correcting the mistake. Other mis-

[1]Bepin Chandra Pal, b. 1858; a prominent extremist leader of Indian National Congress; editor, *New India*, 1901 and later of *Bande Mataram*; d. 1932.

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prints are trivial and can be noticed. Read 'gushing' for 'gusting' in the last paragraph.

Your birthday comes and goes without my having previous notice of it so as to be able to send you something in time. It came yesterday and was celebrated with the usual *dawat* and the feeding of the poor. I think I owe you presents for at least the last two birthdays. But I have no spare cash at present and you must wait till I have it. Meanwhile take my very best wishes for a hundred returns of the day.

With love

Your loving
Father

73. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Decr. 20th., 07

My dear Jawahar,

Nothing of any importance has happened this week and I do not know what to write about. There will be something to say next week which is the Congress Week. I am still undecided about my movements. What I greatly fear is a relapse of my cough if I undertake a long journey in this weather. I have already caught a chill in my right shoulder which is giving me some trouble. My Congress friends however declare that they will not leave me alone. Gokhale has also wired that I must go. I have two more days to decide and if I get rid of my chill I may go. It has suddenly got very cold. There was about an inch of frost on the lawns of Anand Bhawan early this morning.

The Extremists have lost their trump card. Lajpat Rai has refused to stand for the presidentship of the Congress. Tilak being a Bombay man cannot offer himself the rule being that the President must come from Presidency other than the one in which the Congress is held. Bepin Pal will not have served out his probation in jail. The Extremists however are more active than the moderates especially where mischief-making is required.

My letter in the *Pioneer* has called forth several articles in the "Citizen". Two Urdoo papers have recently been started here by Tilak's party. They have [at] all nothing but abuse for Malaviya, Sapru and myself. I first thought of keeping the cuttings for you but threw away the papers afterwards as too contemptible to be taken any notice of.

Do you mean to say you have never a chance of rowing? You may be cox in a race but surely you do get opportunities for rowing. I have recently had to do a lot of rowing as my motor boat engine always goes wrong and we have to row back to the starting point to meet our carriages.

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The engine has now completely broken down and several parts are in the workshop. The man who sold the boat to me must have known all this.

There is a good motor car for sale in Bombay and if I go to Surat I will see it and buy it if it suits me.

We are all well

With love

Your ever loving
Father

74. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 10th., 08

My dear Jawahar,

Thanks for your criticism of my letter to the *Pioneer*. You know me and my views well enough to understand that I do not approve of the opinions expressed by you but boys must be boys and I do not blame you for them. We are living in very critical times and events are crowding together so fast that the present situation cannot last very long. It is all a question of time. It is unnecessary to enter into any discussion on the subject. Within a year or two there will be no doubt left in the mind of any one as to the correctness or otherwise of the attitude adopted by the various so-called political parties in India.

I have been very busy this week. It is 4 o'clock in the morning now and I have just got up to read my briefs for the day. Nevinson,[1] the special correspondent of the Daily Chronicle & other English papers has been my guest for the whole week & has proved a most exacting one. Imagine the inconvenience of having to remain dressed from morning to midnight in my own house! He is leaving for Agra today and I must say that I am not sorry to part with him.

The kites & string have come from Lucknow but the parcel could not be got ready for the post yesterday. They will go tomorrow.

The motor has arrived and is giving general satisfaction. Your mother & the two Nanies will soon be going to Gujarat for the wedding. I am afraid I will not be able to get away as some very heavy cases are being heard.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]H.W. Nevinson, b. 1856; British journalist, essayist and biographer; served *Daily Chronicle*, 1897-1903; the *Nation*, 1906-23, and the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily News* etc., d. 1941.

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75. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 24th, 08

My dear Jawahar,

I am favoured with your views as to the conduct of the "Moderates" and "Extremists" at Surat in Decr. last and feel flattered by the compliment you have paid [to] the "Moderates" knowing of course that your father is one. I am sorry I am too busy this week to do more than acknowledge the compliment but I hope to do justice to it next week.

I have been on my legs for the last week arguing a very difficult case which I conducted in the first Court and I do not know how many more days I will take. Your mother and the two Nanies have gone to Gujrat for the weddings there. I am sorry I cannot get away.

With love

Your loving
Father

76. To Jawahar

Moradabad
Dak Bungalow
23.4.'08

My dear Jawahar,

Your second letter from Paris. You were served right for your improvidence in having to wander about the streets of Paris without food or drink. I hope you will profit by the lesson you have learnt and be more careful in properly husbanding your resources. You must always keep some extra money with you.

It appears from Shridhar's letter that you have to appear at some examination in June before the end of the term. I do not know what the importance of this examination is but if there is any importance about it, however small, you must not absent yourself from it.

I left Allahabad immediately after the meeting of the Convention Committee. I am glad the members or at least an overwhelming majority of them were at one with me that no compromise of any kind was admissible with the Extreme party. We have laid down our principles in no uncertain terms and will exclude every one who does not sign the "creed".[1] This is

[1]The Constitution was drafted and adopted on April 19, 1908 at Allahabad. It laid down that the object of the Indian National Congress was the attainment by the people of India through constitutional means of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire.

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the only condition under which a joint Congress can be held. If the other side persist in their wild propaganda they will soon discover to their cost that their very existence was possible only under the protection of the more sober & thoughtful section represented by those who either took part in the Convention or sympathised with it. However it is a question of time. The next Congress will decide the fate of both parties.

My case here will take nearly a couple of months for the present hearing and the next hearing will take another month. I will therefore be a fixture at Moradabad for some time to come. Your mother & sisters will probably be leaving for the hills by the end of the month. I have so far failed to secure a house but hope to do so soon.

With love

Your loving
Father

77. To Jawahar

Snow View
Moradabad
30.4. '08

My dear Jawahar,

I was very glad to receive a very sympathising letter from you by the last mail. Sympathy is a commodity which has never been bestowed on me by those from whom it was expected in very excessive quantities and of late it has become very rare indeed. Coming as it does from across the seas and from my own son it has its own value for me.

You are quite right in saying that these repeated attacks of one ailment or another are bound sooner or later to end in a complete break-down. The last attack of lumbago has taken a lot out of me. You can very well imagine my sufferings when I had to be on my legs all day from day to day examining witnesses with the most excruciating pain in my back. I have however managed to get rid of it for the present and am gradually regaining my strength. I had my first walk last evening and could easily cover a couple of miles.

I am not at all careless about my health but I cannot help the inevitable. Having been very improvident in money matters all my life I have to thank myself if I have now to work harder than I should. At the same time I must say that my work is the saving of me. I do not know how I could possibly pass my time without it. It is the only thing which diverts my mind from the numerous troubles which beset me.

You need not however be afraid of losing me in the near future. I have a long span of life and mean to live it.

As for being 'morose' your information is not quite accurate. It all depends upon the mood & surroundings in which your informant observed

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me. With some people I cannot help being anything but morose, with others I am as happy as a lark.

I am afraid I will have to play you the same trick as I did when you were here last, as the case I am at present engaged in here is likely to be heard off and on till August or Septr. —and then there are other engagements too. You have however full three months at your disposal and I am not going to do any work during the vacation. I will then be with you for at least a month continuously and for some days at a time now and again.

Brajlal promised to send a wire in case of his success. The results were to be announced on the 28th which has come & gone without the expected wire. No news in this case I am afraid does not mean good news.

The present hearing of my case will end on the 8th May. Your mother & sisters with Miss Hooper will meet me at the Bareilly station the same evening and I will proceed with them to Naini Tal. I propose to spend a week on the Hills and then go to Allahabad to dispose of a big case which I must personally look after. This case will last about 10 days. The next hearing of the case here begins on the 1st June.

With love

Your loving
Father

I was almost forgetting to say that I have never been really annoyed with you. I do not of course approve of your politics and have on certain occasions expressed myself very strongly as you know I can when I wish to. This is however neither here nor there. My love for you knows no bounds and unless there is some very remarkable change in me I do not see how it can be affected.

Brajlal cannot start before the middle of July. You must therefore make up your mind to come alone. There is no sense in your cutting short your stay with us simply to have the company of Braj on the voyage. I do not know any thing about your money matters but will send you £ 100 next week which ought to land you in Allahabad.

78. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
6.11. '08

My dear Jawahar,

The last mail did not bring any news from you and could not be expected to as it must have left the day before you arrived. We are looking forward anxiously to the next.

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The High Court has re-opened and I find myself in the usual swing of ork.

Brajlal has not yet received any orders and it is not known where he may be posted.

Reuter says that the English papers are all full of the highest appreciation of the King's (or rather Morley's) Proclamation. The whole Indian and Anglo-Indian Press however has condemned it as a weak & spiritless document, ill-conceived and badly expressed. Even the *Pioneer* has no mercy for it. The *Statesman*'s criticism however is the ablest. The wonder is that it has not even literary merit to recommend itself. The *Statesman* has brought out clearly all the lies it conceals under verbosity. Fancy "Equal treatment of Indian & other subjects" after what is going on in South Africa and India itself.

It is now almost certain that Morley's reforms will be as disappointing as his Proclamation has been.

There is nothing else that I can think of & so close this with my love.

Your ever loving
Father

79. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
31.12.'08

My dear Jawahar,

I could not make up my mind to go to the Congress. It was a long journey and I was far from well. The cough is giving me a bad time of it. I hope it will pass over with the intense cold we are having.

The Congress has after all been a success. Dr. Rashbehary Ghose's[1] Presidential address is being applauded by the Press, Indian & Anglo-Indian alike. For my part, I think it was too much milk & water—perhaps more water than milk, but the occasion did call for something of the kind. The Anglo-Indians and the Mohammadans are going to make common cause in opposing Morley's reforms and the support of the Congress will no doubt strengthen his hands.

The next Congress will probably be held in Allahabad simply for want of a more congenial place to go to. Sundarlal and I were flooded with telegrams first to go to Madras & then to invite the Congress to Allahabad. I have already given you my reason for not going and Sundarlal could not reach Madras within a week unless he went without food for three whole days & nights. So it was out of the question for us to go. As for

[1]b. 1845; Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1888-90; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1891-03, 1907-08; President, Indian National Congress, 1907 and 1908; d. 1921.

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inviting the Congress to Allahabad we would have preferred to wait for another year as there is to be a grand industrial exhibition here in 1910; but feeling that there is no other place for the Congress to go to we have given our assent. If the Congress is to be held here in 1909 I will have to give up my visit to Europe as it is on this condition that Sundarlal & others have agreed to hold it in Allahabad. This will perhaps suit you also as you must devote your next summer vacation to study and it never pays wasting much time with an antiquated old father when you have more important things to do. This brings me to your proposal to give up Physics for Botany. If your tutor recommends that course, as you say he does, my opinion one way or the other is not worth much. All I would ask you to do is to make up your mind at once and not go on thinking of changing your subjects till the 11th hour as Brajlal did. What I expect from you is a first class. I do not care in what subject or subjects. To obtain this you are at liberty to have any tuition or coaching that may be available regardless of all expense. The I.C.S. is not the goal of my ambition. What I want is thoroughness.

When you wrote last you were at Cambridge and were thinking of going to town for a day or two. . . .

[Incomplete]

80. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
25.3.09

My dear Jawahar,

I was glad to receive a pretty long letter from you by the last mail. It was such a relief to have something of decent size after a long succession of provokingly short notes.

S.P. Sinha's[1] appointment to the Executive Council of the Viceroy has been received with general satisfaction by the Hindus and very sulkily by the Mahomedans. Morley has certainly shown great courage in making the appointment in the teeth of the bitter opposition of the noble Lords of the Upper House. I have sent him another wire.

The Hindu-Mahomedan question has unfortunately stirred up an acrimonious controversy and the most level headed of both communities are losing their balance. An open rupture between the leaders of the two communities is imminent—nothing short of a miracle can save it. I do

[1]Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, b. 1864; first Indian to be Advocate-General, Bengal, 1907-09, 1916-17; first Indian member of Viceroy's Executive Council, 1909-10; Member, Imperial War Cabinet, 1918; first Indian Peer, created Baron, 1919; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1919-20; first Indian to be Governor of Bihar and Orissa, 1920-21; Member, Judicial Committee of Privy Council, 1926-28; d. 1928.

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not attach much importance to the difference of opinion among the leaders as there has never been much love lost between the two. The masses of both communities have however always been good friends and neighbours and what I dread is the day when this tension of feeling filters down to the lower classes. Nation building will be a thing of the past and we will soon begin to hear of broken heads at unseemly quarrels. Our Anglo-Indian friends have distinctly scored in this matter and no amount of Council reforms will repair the mischief.

The Provincial Conference will be held at Agra during Easter. I have agreed to preside at the Social Conference for a change.

I have already told you that there is a fair chance of my seeing you this year.

With love

Your loving
Father

81. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 13th., '10

My dear Jawahar,

Home sweet home at last. The only disappointing element is your absence from the family circle. I found your mother very weak but cheerful and making rapid progress to complete recovery. Nanie & baby are flourishing. Poor Chander[1] is down with fever and her temperature rises to 105. The rest are all right including Master Braj Kumar[2] who is a chubby little fellow always laughing.

I missed the last mail as we did not arrive at Bombay till Sunday morning and the mail steamer left on Saturday. The customs people gave me great trouble on landing by opening a number of my boxes. They levied duty on all presents for others including Nanie and baby's dresses. I paid under protest but as it was only Rs. 48/- I do not think I will have time to enter into a long correspondence on the subject.

The box of books from Cambridge was found among my baggage at the Ballard Pier. Please do not trouble about it.

The cars have arrived at Bombay. There were numerous letters & telegrams of congratulations awaiting my return. I will reply to them today being a holiday. Babs talks so sweetly. She could not recognize

[1]Chander Handoo, daughter of Ladli Prasad Zutshi; m. Shri Krishna Handoo.

[2]Braj Kumar Nehru, b. 1909; son of Brajlal Nehru; entered I.C.S., 1934; Indian Ambassador to U.S.A., 1961-68; Governor of Assam and Nagaland, 1968-73; High Commissioner to U.K., 1973-77.

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me at first but after a time accepted the fact that I really was her 'papa'.

Shamji & Jagmohan are here. The former will settle down for practice from the 1st Feb. & the latter is on his way to Calcutta to see his father who is in a very precarious state. I will go to see him as soon as I am free to do so.

With love

Your loving
Father

82. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 30th, '10

Dear brother,

The moment I set foot on the Allahabad platform I found myself in a whirl of business and other engagements. On top of all these I could not help running down to Calcutta to see my old friend Prithinath Chak who is in a very precarious state. As you had come to know that I was in the best of health I was sure my silence could not give rise to anxiety and I simply allowed myself to drift with the current of events. I cannot however keep you waiting for a line from me any longer & though it is near midnight now I must make an attempt to say something before I go to bed.

I left the boys in England in the pink of health and arrived here after a very pleasant voyage to find every one at home doing well. Wife is of course very weak but I am thankful to find her in the land of the living after the alarming reports I had of her health in England. She will I hope be herself soon.

After what I saw of Shridhar and his work I was convinced that any interference with the course he had chalked out for himself would not only be unnecessary but unwise. The Bar is out of the question for him as he cannot possibly conceive anything more uncongenial to his nature. He must be allowed the fullest and freest scope to follow the trend of his own mind. The pity of it is that poor India does not offer many opportunities for his genius and the greater the pity that a genius like him should be compelled for sordid considerations of a work-a-day life to move within the strictly prescribed limits, the Indian Civil Service. His proper sphere of work lies in the great scientific laboratories of the West where he can devote himself to original research and give mankind in general the benefit of his labours. But the I.C.S. is considered a great thing in India. For him it is a walk over. I have advised him to go through it but without losing sight of the one object of his ambition, i.e. to enlighten humanity.

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Joe[1] is made of different stuff but if my knowledge of human nature does not deceive me I think he is bound to rise in his father's profession. He has already begun to like it and in deciding that he should devote his energies to the study of law I have only followed the bent of his own mind.

It is near 1 o'clock now and I must retire to give my clients an adequate return for the money they have paid me.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

83. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
10.3.'10

Dear brother,

Thanks for your letter and the draft for £ 150 which will be sent on to London by this week's mail for credit to Shridhar's account.

The Government have asked for a short family history of mine. I know nothing about it. Will you kindly send me a note on the subject? Is there any mention of any of our ancestors in any published book or report? Diwan Narendranath once told me that our maternal grandfather was mentioned in some book that he had seen. I have no idea what the book was. I think the following points should be brought out in your note:

1. The date & circumstances of our migration from Kashmir.
2. Any important public offices held by any of our ancestors since the migration.
3. Did any of our ancestors hold landed property or Jagir.
4. Short sketch of the general family history with references if possible to any publication or manuscripts of authority.

I do hope I am not putting you to greater inconvenience than you can bear. But it is impossible for me to do without your assistance.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

[1]Pet name of Jawaharlal Nehru.

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84. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
April 29th, '10

My dear Jawahar,

Your letters have been as brief as mine for the past few weeks. I have been rushed a good deal since my return from Mussoorie with outstation cases and Council meetings. Yesterday I made quite a record. Exhibition meeting 7.30-9.30, High Court 10.30 to 3.30, opening ceremony of a Swadeshi Bank (at which I presided) 5-7, Congress Committee meeting 7.30 to 9.30, Dinner 10 p.m. This is of course not the normal state of things or life would not be worth living.

I had the first experience of the Provincial budget debate at the last meeting of the Council. It was quite a farce and could hardly be described as a debate. The Lt. Governor began by calling upon non-official members one after the other to address the Council. Each member rose at a sign from the Governor and with a few exceptions complimented him for his successful rule etc. etc. The Mohammadans in a body adopted this attitude. I was the first to be called upon to speak, the idea being as I afterwards learnt, that the Govr. expected I would be "nasty" and he wanted to give the officials as much time as was possible to prepare their reply. I only made a few general observations. They were not complimentary to Govt. I admit but there was nothing so dreadful in them as to excite the anger of the Gods. Malaviya & Ganga Pd. Varma[1] followed on the same lines. They were in their turn followed by the loyalists. That was what happened the first day. The next day, having had a whole night to prepare themselves, the officials got up one after another and Malaviya, Ganga Pershad and myself came in for a lot of abuse from each of them. We had no right of reply and the "important debate" was wound up by the Governor who patted the *Khushamdis* and the officials.

The Mussoorie people are all right. Nanie wants the black beauties and I am going to send. Shamji[2] (Nehru). Oma[3] & children[4] have just gone back to Jalerpet after spending a fortnight or so with us. Shamji is quite changed for the better. Oma is and has always been very thoughtful and

[1]b. 1863; started an English biweekly *Advocate*, 1883; and later *Hindustan*, an Urdu biweekly; one of the founder members of the Indian National Congress; Vice-President, U.P. Congress Committee; Member, Provincial Legislative Council for many years; President, U.P. Provincial Conference, 1909; d. 1914.

[2]Shamlal Nehru, b. 1872; son of Nandlal and nephew of Motilal Nehru; Member, Khilafat Committee; Member, U.P. Legislative Assembly; arrested during non-cooperation movement; started *The Democrat*, weekly newspaper from Allahabad in 1921; d. 1934.

[3]Uma Nehru, b. 1884; wife of Shamlal Nehru; sentenced to one year's imprisonment in connection with satyagraha movement; edited *Maryada*, a Hindi magazine; d. 1963.

[4]The children referred to presumably were: Anand Kumar Nehru (1908-47); Shyam Kumari Nehru, b. 1904; m. Abdul Jamil Khan; (1903-63).

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gentle. The children are charming. Anand can only talk English and Tamil & says he does not know the *Hindee-boli*. Shammi has also made considerable progress for her age.

There is a great run on my photographs in wig and gown—specially the one taken standing. There were only 6 of them I will require quite a dozen more of them & would have written direct to Speight if I had any idea of the price. In the first place I do not remember what I paid for these & secondly the charge for subsequent dozens is somewhat lower than the first dozen. Will you please order these at once? The number on the back in pencil is 26632 C.

There is great excitement in the neighbourhood today. Mohan is contesting the Katra-Colonalgunj seat in the Municipal Board with the old member[1] who has great influence with the people mainly because they fear him. My two cars, Suresh's car and a fourth from the city are running up & down carrying Mohan's voters to the poll. The other fellow has also hired a car but I am told it has broken down. The result will be announced two hours after the mail leaves.

With love

Your loving
Father

85. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
May 27th, 10

My dear Jawahar,

The only sensation of the past week was that the *Leader* received a warning from the Government that an article entitled—"The Present Political Situation" published in its issue of the 23rd March last over the signature of Bishan Narain Dar was seditious. The Govt. have been pleased to content themselves with a warning for "the first offence" of the paper. The fact is that it is an extremely well-written article and there is not the least suggestion of sedition. We are having opinions of eminent counsels in India and England merely for future use. Please keep this to yourself as everything has been done privately.

It was extremely hot this week. I had been on my legs for two days arguing a first appeal before the Chief when the Chief noticed that I was streaming with perspiration in spite of the electric fan making a thousand revolutions per minute over my head. The sight he saw convinced him of what many representations had failed to do, viz, that the hot weather in

[1]Zahur-ul-Hussain, who was defeated in the municipal election by Mohan Lal Nehru.

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India was not intended for first appeal work and after fully sympathising with the members of the bar his Lordship was pleased to order that no first appeals were to be taken up until the break of the rains. This enables me to have 10 days or so at Mussoorie and I leave early next week after finishing some important business here.

There is no other news to tell you.

With love

Your loving
Father

86. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
June 3rd, '10

My dear Jawahar,

In my last I expressed a hope that I might be able to write this week from Mussoorie but as you will see that hope has not been realized. First there was an important case to detain me and then a great difficulty arose in connection with the *Leader*. One of the Editors (Chintamani)[1] took seriously ill and had to be given leave of absence. Tej Bahadur, Iswar Saran,[2] Shamji Mushran & other young fellows were commandeered and it was with the utmost difficulty that the paper could be issued every morning. As Chintamani had worked very hard indeed the Director of the Newspapers Ltd, increased his salary by Rs. 50/- last month. When pay bills were made out on the 1st of this month Mr. Gupta[3] the other Editor seeing that preference was shown to Chintamani over him got very angry and yesterday morning handed in his resignation. Till about 8 last night there was no leading article for this morning's issue! We have wired to Calcutta, c/o Bombay & Madras for emergency Editors and meanwhile the young fellows are working as hard as they can. Gupta's action was very mean indeed. He never worked beyond the usual office hours while Chintamani besides his own work did duty for a night Editor as well and often went without any sleep at night. It was in recognition of these

[1]C Y. Chintamani, b. 1880; edited *Leader*, Allahabad, 1909-20; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1916-23, 1926-41; General Secretary, National Liberal Federation of India, 1918-20 and 1923-29 and its President, 1920 and 1931; Minister of Education and Industries, U.P., 1921-23; Member, Indian Round Table Conference 1930; d. 1941.

[2]b. 1874; advocate, Allahabad High Court; President, U.P. Political Conference 1910; President, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 1918; Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1921-23, 1927-30; Chairman, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, 1925-29; d. 1947.

[3]Nagendra Nath Gupta, editor of *Indian Opinion* which was amalgamated with the *Leader*.

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services that the paltry increment of Rs. 50/- was allowed. Both Editors had given agreements in writing that they were not entitled to any increase of salary within the first year and were bound to give two months notice if they wanted to retire. It is no use binding Gupta to his agreement about notice as it would be suicidal to put ourselves in the hands of an unwilling Editor specially after the warning received from the Government.

I hope some temporary arrangement will be arrived at today and I will be in a position to leave for Mussoorie tomorrow.

The Raja of Amethi has at last paid the greater portion of the price of the fiats and I sent a telegraphic remittance to Blech yesterday making up the deficiency from my own pocket. The cars were shipped on the 21st May and ought to be here sometime this month.

You must be still busy with your exam: but will I hope be enjoying your holidays when you receive this. Do not forget to wire the result of the exam.

With love

Your loving
Father

87. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
June 24th. '10

My dear Jawahar,

What a fraud you are. The desponding tone of your letters would have made any one but myself doubt the truth of your telegram but I was quite prepared for it. Indeed you have done exactly as I had expected. After all the time you spent with me on the Continent and in England I could not reasonably hope for a first but I had sufficient confidence in you to be sure of a second & this is exactly what has come to pass.

I was at Mussoorie when your cable was received here. Braj wired it to me and there was great jubilation. The more deserving of the servants had a permanent increase in their monthly wages and also shared the cash presents with the whole establishment. Some new servants were engaged the very day your telegram arrived. Even these were not left out. I was to leave Mussoorie for Naini Tal the same afternoon and left your mother in the midst of elaborate arrangements for a grand dinner. I came back from Naini Tal yesterday and one evening in the course of the next few days champagne is going to flow freely.

Well so far so good. I hope you are now enjoying yourself after the hard work you have done. But after settling your bills you cannot have much money left to enable you to have a really good time. I am therefore enclosing a cheque for £ 100. I do not know what your plans are but the

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best thing that I can think of is to have a holiday in France and pick up the language while you are enjoying yourself.

The next thing is to settle what is to be done for the future. Diwan Sahib is for the I.C.S. but I stick to my decision for the Bar unless you have changed your mind. There are no prospects at all in the I.C.S. and the deserving and undeserving are all herded together. Every opportunity is taken to humiliate the Indian members of the I.C.S. The one occasion any notice is taken of you is when you secure a good place in the competition. You come back here, are posted to some outlandish district and are soon forgotten. The Bar on the other hand offers the highest position and rank to the really deserving members of it. Some one told Judge Tudball[1] of our Court that I was training you for the I.C.S. He said it was the silliest thing I could possibly do with the large practice I commanded & I quite agree with him.

You should therefore arrange to take your Law Trip in June next year and must keep in view the next higher step, I mean the LL.D., which I am sure will come in the fulness of time. With a school training at Harrow and an M.A. LL.D. (Cantab) you will be worth half a dozen civilians any day. As for success at the Bar leave that to me.

Let me know the subjects for the second part of the LL.B. (I believe you will be excused the first part). During the next academical year, you should devote yourself entirely to those subjects without bothering yourself with any Bar exams. There will be time enough to attend to these after you have taken your LL. B. But if in any common subjects you feel you can do *a really good paper* in the Bar prelims you may put yourself to the test but not otherwise. I am not for doing more than one thing at a time unless the two things are really the same under two different names. Thoroughness in one subject is far preferable to being a Jack at all trades.

You have to acquire thoroughness and if you do not succeed at the Bar after that it will be my fault & not yours. But I have no misgivings as to either and can see the future as plainly as if it were written in a book. I can almost see you installed in my place in the profession and myself feeling quite happy & contented in retirement.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]William Tudball, joined Indian Civil Service, 1885; served in North-West Provinces and Oudh; appointed Judge, High Court, 1909.

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88. To Annie Besant

Augt. 9th, 10

Dear Mrs. Besant,

I am sorry there has been all this delay in collecting subscriptions for the Sripratap Hindu College.

I have just remitted Rs. 1900/- to the Hony. Secy. Central Hindu College which is made up of the following subscriptions.

Lt. Col. K.N. Haksar[1] of Gwalior	600/-
Dr. T.B. Sapru of Allahabad	400/-
P. Janki Nath Chak of Lucknow	200/-
P. Saroj Narain Bahadur of Lucknow	50/-
My humble quota	650/-
Total	1900/-

The amount I promised to collect was Rs 2400/- The Rs. 500/- which remains to be collected has been promised by Diwan Bahadur Narendra Nath Deputy Commr. of Multan. He is at present on a holiday at Mussoorie and I will meet him there day after tomorrow.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely
Motilal Nehru

89. To Jawahar

Hardoi
10.8.'10

My dear Jawahar,

I am on my way to Mussoorie for the long vacation which will begin the day after tomorrow. I am going a couple of days earlier as Miss Hooper has left and they are very lonely at Mussoorie.

Your last was from *S.S. Opkir*. I hope you will be back in England by the time this is delivered. I could not write more than a few lines last week as I had to attend a meeting called by the Lt. Governor on the morning of the mail day.

I was fully aware of the fact that you could not get the degree of LL.D as a matter of course. The idea was that you were to practise for some years after your LL.B. & then try for the LL.D. But as I told you in my last but one letter I have changed my mind completely on a

[1]Col. Kailas Narain Haksar, b. 1878; Private Secretary to the Maharaja Scindia, 1903-12; Capt. 4th Gwalior Imperial Service Infantry, 1903, later Col., 1924; Attended the Round Table Conferences; Prime-Minister, Bikaner State, 1938-39; Personal Adviser to the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir, 1939-43; Prime Minister, Jammu & Kashmir State, 1943-44; d. 1953.

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reconsideration of the matter. I do not think any further academical honours at Oxford or Cambridge will be of much practical good. The ordinary B.A. in law is no good at all & the B.C.L. is a stiff examination which will absorb all your time & energy. If you pass it will not shed any great lustre on your name and you will hardly be prepared for any practical work. If you are ploughed all this time would be lost completely. On the contrary if you remove to London and attend the lectures there with attention & care there will be enough of academical honours within your reach—an exhibitioner or a prizeman at the bar examinations is a more important person than a B.C.L. Besides I want you to attend the chambers of a good equity lawyer & also a good common law man soon after you have passed your prelims in those subjects. If you will first try to get a high place in these subjects you are bound to have a very satisfactory theoretical knowledge which will be improved (not perfected) by working in chambers with practical men and attending law courts to see the practical application of abstract principles to concrete cases. The sum total of practical & theoretical knowledge so acquired will I am vain enough to think be further improved by working with me in the field of your future labours. Perfection will follow in ordinary course.

This is not perhaps so bright a picture as the one I painted the other day when I talked of your having M.A. & LL.D. (Cantab) after your name but it means future success in life when academical honours will be forgotten and every man will stand or fall by that which is in him and not what follows his name on paper.

This is how I think of the matter but I leave you a full & free hand to follow your own bent of mind. I do not believe in diverting genius from one course to another any more than I believe in creating genius where none exists. All I wish you to bear in mind is that you have now decided to enter a profession which is no respecter of names & titles but insists on your ability to do the work & do it well. This means a hard tussle & you must arm yourself for it. Once you are properly armed and know how to make use of your weapons it is impossible to conceive a better & nobler profession than the one you have chosen.

I hope your expectations of the midnight sun and its surroundings have been fully realised.

With love

Your loving
Father

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90. To Jawahar

Apricots
Mussoorie
22.9.10

My dear Jawahar,

I do hope the Kashmir tea set arrived in time and you were saved the trouble of selecting another present for Miss Aikman (now Mrs Latimer). But I cannot conceive what difficulty there could be in finding some thing Indian in design.

When you first suggested Oxford it was in connection with a law degree and I do not think I was very far out in discussing the utility of such a degree as compared to the practical & theoretical training you could have in London. I was not aware that you intended to go to Oxford in pursuit of some other & higher branch of knowledge which distinguishes a man of real culture from a "mere lawyer". Even now I am dense enough not to be able to guess what that branch of knowledge is to which the important lawyer is or should be a stranger. I may however tell you that a "mere lawyer" has not yet been known to succeed in his own profession & that the lawyers who have succeeded and will succeed have generally something more than mere law to draw upon. Please do not judge the profession by the bad example of your father who is not even well-versed in law. What I want you to be is a good sound lawyer and there is no department of knowledge which can be considered superfluous for such a lawyer.

I went to Saharanpur for a day and the idea was to proceed to Naini Tal direct from Saharanpur but the indifferent state of your mother's health and the utter want of common sense in the doctors compelled me to give up Naini Tal. It is nothing more than one of the ordinary relapses of dyspepsia & will soon pass over if proper care is taken.

Jankinath Chak & Jagat Narain[1] are our guests for a few days.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]Jagat Narain Mulla, b. 1864; a moderate Congress leader of U.P.; d. 1938.

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91. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

The Apricots
Mussoorie
11.10.'10

Dear brother,

I am very glad to hear that you are quite all right & hope you have safely returned to Mathra.

I have as requested written direct to Nawab Faiyaz Ali Khan[1] though my acquaintance with him personally is of the very slightest kind. Please inform Hariharnathji[2]. I do not know his present address.

I am day by day being confirmed in the belief that the Civil Service Commissioners are actuated by political motives in selecting candidates. Having regard to Shridhar's qualification no sane person can for a moment doubt that the I.C.S. Examination is mere child's play to him—difficult as it certainly is for men of average attainments. But in view of the existing state of things I will not be surprised to find Shridhar being declared unsuccessful for want of a few marks. This is one of the numerous reasons which induced me to withdraw Jawahar from the I.C.S. There was no Indian in the list of successful candidates last year and we have only Mr. Amir Ali's[3] son this year! I cannot for the life of me bring myself to believe that out of the numerous Bengali and other Hindu candidates having brilliant academical careers behind them there was not one who could beat a mediocre like Waris Amir Ali. It is now too late to withdraw Shridhar, but I am so confident of his abilities that if he is declared unsuccessful I will unhesitatingly attribute it to some *hocus pocus* and will shake heaven and earth to expose the Civil Service Commissioners. As for law I think Shridhar is perfectly right in thinking that he is not meant for it. He is wedded to science and he must be left to his own inclinations. I should'nt have thought of sending Jawahar to law if I did not find in him the making of a successful lawyer. He is himself passionately fond of literature but the Bar is not without its attraction to him. Shridhar simply loathes the legal profession.

I am in communication with the Govt. and some leading Native States about Kishan. Perhaps you are not aware that there is not one man European or Indian in India who has attained the same qualification as Kishan has in Sanitary Science. I am sure of finding a suitable opening for him. The Gaekwar of Baroda is at present in England and I am waiting for his decision before asking Kishan to come back.

[1]Sir Mumtaz-ud-Dowlah, Mahomed of Pahasu, b. 1851; member for two successive terms, Provincial Legislative Council of United Provinces; Member Viceregal Council; Honorary Magistrate and Munsif of Pahasu; President, Board of Trustees M.A.O. College, Aligarh; Trustee, Government College, Agra; Lady Dufferin Fund etc; d., 1922.

[2]Hariharnath Wanchoo, son-in-law of Mohanlal Nehru.

[3]Judge of the Court of Small Causes.

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We leave Mussoorie on the 16th Inst. and after a couple of halts arrive in Allahabad on the 19th.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

92. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 18th, '10

My dear Jawahar,

I do not think I have ever missed a mail without sending you at least a line & am surprised to hear that you received no letter the week you wrote last. This is some trick of the Post-office and I am sure you have received a double mail in the week following.

It is all bustle & excitement here. What with the out-going and incoming Viceroys, the Exhibition, the Congress and many other functions, one finds no time to attend to his own legitimate work. The announcement that the King is going to hold his Coronation Darbar in person at Delhi on the 1st Jany. 1912 will keep up the excitement after the shows now going on are over. As it is I have to attend meetings almost daily.

I have gone through the rules & regulations of the Council of Legal Education. The first thing which attracted my attention was a notice at the very beginning of the book advising every student to consult Blake Odgers about the proper course of study. I do not know if you have followed this excellent advice. If not I would strongly recommend your doing so.

Your aim should be to secure Honours at the final examination and at least one prize if not a studentship. I have looked through the question papers of previous years and find that they are not nearly so difficult as the poor Vakils have to answer here and secure 60 p.c. of marks in.

I note you have for the present dropped the International Law & I agree with you that it can wait. But you must soon make up your mind as to the subject in which you compete for a prize. It is only at the Easter & Michaelmas exams. that a prize of £ 50 is offered in Constitutional Law etc. and Criminal Law. You should therefore so time your exams that you may be able to take the prize subjects. If I were you I would try to carry every prize and even the studentship. Others before you have done so and there is no reason why you should not try. For the studentship you will have to take your Final at the Hilary or the Trinity exam. No studentship is offered at the other two.

I do not know if you are offering any subject at the next Hilary exam. I wouldn't advise you to do so unless you are thoroughly ready.

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Don't you think you had better arrange for some coaching? I think Blake Odgers will recommend a really good man. But whatever you do please do not rely on the little books written specially for those who want to get through their exams. any how. Try to master the principles even if it takes you a term or two longer than usual.

As for the alternative subjects, viz. Real Property or Hindu & Mdan. Law I would recommend the former as you will have lots of time & I think better opportunities to get an insight into the latter when you come back to India. The law of Real Property will of course be of no practical use in India but a good grounding in the principles [and] will form a solid foundation for the Indian law of Property.

With love

Your loving
Father

93. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 25th, '10

My dear Jawahar,

We have been observing your 21st birthday for the last two days and wishing ourselves many happy returns of the day. This I think is a great improvement on the orthodox custom of wishing the person whose birthday it is, for it implies the existence of others at future celebrations of his birthday. I now send you all the good wishes we have collected to which I add tons from myself. The birthday cake with its 21 candles was very much admired. The opening day of the Exhibition (1st Decr.) is drawing near and I have now to sacrifice my professional work to a considerable extent. We have raised a white city in benighted Allahabad. It is the grandest show ever held in India and would compare favourably with similar shows in other countries. The pity of it is that the buildings must come down after the exhibition is over.

You will be agreeably surprised to hear that Jagmohan Chak has succeeded in getting a client to stand his expenses for a trip to England. I do not know any details. There was a paragraph in yesterday's *Leader* announcing the news.

So many things are going on here that I could write pages to tell you about them but I am very hard-pressed for time. Besides you have all sorts of exciting things done in London itself and must be occupied with the numerous editions of the daily papers coming out with startling headlines.

I do not know what Kishan is doing now. He must come home.

I am sending you some approved proofs of photographs taken at

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Mussoorie. Doesn't dear little Nan look like a true goddess? She is standing on a lotus flower driving a pair of swans. Do you like the idea? Little Braj Kumar is the young Hercules tearing open the tiger's jaws. Baby's proof has not come yet. I have had her taken on the moon which is shining on Anand Bhawan. She has somewhat spoilt the effect of the picture by insisting on holding a doll and looking rather grave. Mark the reflection of Nanie's face in the water. I think it will be a grand picture when enlarged in water colours.

With love

Your loving
Father

94. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
23. XII. 10

My dear Jawahar,

I find myself again very much pressed for time. Delegates to the Congress & visitors to the Exhibition are arriving in legions & the house is already full of guests. I have to be constantly running between the High Court, the Congress Camp, the exhibition and the house where we are accommodating Sir. W. Wedderburn[1] & party. I am afraid you must be content with short notes from me this week and the next.

I send you a new Hindi magazine[2] started by Malaviyaji in which Nanie's picture driving the swans appears. He has given it an imaginary name as he thought it would be improper to publish the name of a girl! There is another incident which though pressed for time I must relate to you. It is usual at the opening of the Congress to have some song sung by ladies & children. The *Bande-Mataram* song has so far been sung. On my suggestion Mrs. Sarla Chaudhri[3] a gifted lady (one of our guests) set a few *mantras* from the *Veda* to music & trained many children including Nanie to sing it. The *mantras* only deal with the benefits of union & co-operation. But the great Malaviya has interdicted the song after a whole week was given to it on the ground that the singing of the Veda in the hearing of non-Hindus was prohibited by the Shastras!

[1]b. 1838; entered I.C.S., 1860; Judge, Bombay High Court, 1886-87; one of the founding fathers of the Indian National Congress; President, Indian National Congress, 1889, 1910; d. 1918.

[2]A Hindi monthly, *Maryada*, was started by Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1910.

[3]Mrs. Sarla Devi Chaudhrani, b. 1873; grand-daughter of Debendra Nath Tagore, daughter of Swarankumari and Jankinath Ghoshal; m. Pandit Rambhuj Dutt; took part in the Swadeshi movement, 1905; edited *Hindustan*; d. 1954.

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These are our Congress leaders. I am disgusted & had it not been for the fact that my action will be mis-interpreted I would have chucked the Congress. As it is I take a lukewarm interest in it.

With love

Your loving
Father

95. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
6.1.'11

My dear Jawahar,

The strain & stress of the Congress and the numerous Conferences is now over not without exacting its penalty from me. I caught a chill day before yesterday & have since been in bed. The fever left me last night but I am resting today & hope to be up and about tomorrow.

The Congress passed off successfully in the sense that there was no row. The Hindu-Mohammadan Conference brought about by Sir W.W. went off successfully too in the same sense. They called each other "brothers" "cousins" & so on. There were a few gushing speeches and the function ended by the appointment of a Committee of 8 Hindus & 8 Mohammadans with Gokhale as the 17th member nominated by the Aga Khan.[1] It is certain that this Committee will either never meet or come to no conclusion whatever. Another new feature of the Congress week has been that it has given birth to an All India Hindu Sabha[2] which in my opinion will not only minimize all chances of the Hindu-Mohammadan Committee doing any good but sap the foundation of the Congress itself. I opposed the formation of this Sabha as strongly as I could and had the satisfaction of bringing round to my view men like Bhupendra Nath Basu[3] & Surendra Nath Benerjea but the great majority of the so-called leaders in Upper India, specially those of the Panjab, had worked themselves to a high pitch and could not be made to listen to reason. Bombay,

[1]b. 1875; Head of the Ismaili sect; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1902-4, presided over the Muslim Educational Conference, 1903: led the Simla deputation to Viceroy, 1906; President, All-India Muslim League, 1907-13; associated with the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University in 1910; participated in Round Table Conferences, 1930 and 1931; President, League of Nations, 1937; d. 1958.

[2]It was established mainly to agitate against the grant of separate representation to Muslims in the municipal and district boards. Towards the end of 1922 it emerged as the Hindu Mahasabha.

[3]b. 1859; President, Bengal Provincial Conference held at Mymensing, 1905; Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee in 1906; was elected member of Bengal Legislative Council and later of Imperial Legislative Council; President, Indian National Congress, 1914; d. 1924.

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Madras & Central India were not even consulted & yet the name given to the new organization is the All India Hindu Sabha. I have refused to join it.

More in my next.

With love

Your loving
Father

96. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Jany. 20th., '11

My dear Jawahar,

This is again one of the busiest days and I can only write a few lines. The Gaekawar and the Maharani[1] with staff are dining at Anand Bhawan this evening. There will be some 40 diners and the dining room being too small for so many, the inner Courtyard is being converted into a palm garden and covered up with an awning. This means a lot of work & supervision for which I am not too strong having only yesterday left my bed after 4 days on account of a bad attack of piles. This is the second time that I have had this complaint. I have adopted drastic measures and hope it will not recur.

Mr. Leslie Porter[2] who is to officiate as Lieutenant Governor of these Provinces during the absence of Sir John Hewett on deputation for the Delhi Coronation Darbar and Mrs. Leslie Porter[3] are leaving for England on a short holiday by this mail. They have lately become very friendly with us. Dinners and teas have been exchanged and Mrs. Porter has been very gushing in her treatment of your mother and myself. You ought to write and make an appointment to see them. Their address is C/o Henry S. King & Co. Pall Mall. They will only have a month and a half in Europe. Write early. I send in a separate cover the book of Oriental Pageantry got up by Sorabji for the Exhibition. The scene of Akbar's[4] death has given some offence to Hindus & Mohammadans alike.

I am off to Moradabad day after tomorrow with Shamji Mushran for

[1]Chimanbai Gaekwar, a prominent woman leader in India, patron of education and art; widely travelled.

[2]Leslie Alexander Selim Porter, b. 1854; entered I.C.S., 1876; Magistrate and Collector, 1894; Commissioner, 1901; Member, Lt.-Governor's Council, U.P., 1903-04; Member, Governor General's Legislative Council, 1904-06; Officiating Lt.-Governor 1910; Lt.-Governor, 1911; retired 1911; d. 1932.

[3]Aletta Harrison, daughter of Lt. Col. Aston; d. 1914.

[4]Jalal-ud-Din Mohammad Akbar, b. 1542; Mughal Emperor of India, 1556-1605; d. 1605.

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whom I am glad to say I have secured this job at Rs. 100 a day. It is likely to last a fortnight.

With love

Your loving
Father

97. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
March 10th, '11

My dear Jawahar,

I am glad you have at last found time to give a sitting to the photographer but I wish you had gone to Speight instead of Lafayette whose last performance was not at all satisfactory. The enlargement of your photograph for which he has charged something like 8 guineas is not worth half the price. I hope he will turn out something better this time. I did not forget to pay his bill but I have a way of making people wait who do not satisfy me. I particularly want to have you in the Varisty B.A. gown & cap.

Mons. Blech of Paris is here. He is dining with me this evening. I wish your mother & sisters were here.

At the instance of Pandit Ganga Nath Jha[1] I was foolish enough to call a public meeting of the Hindus of Allahabad to mark the disapproval of obscenities practised during the Holi. This meeting was attended by about 150 mostly students & educated people and a Committee was formed to take steps to prevent obscene songs being sung in public streets and if necessary to prosecute offenders. The rank & file of the Police are the greatest sinners and instead of preventing these obscenities freely take part in them. One of the resolutions passed by the meeting was that a deputation consisting of Ganga Nath Jha, a city *rais* & myself should wait upon the Magistrate & ask him to issue strict orders to the Police to behave themselves and do their duty. This has given dire offence to the orthodox Hindus and a petition signed by over 5000 people was presented to the Magistrate yesterday complaining of our uncalled for interference with time honoured customs etc! The petition prays that they may be left to their own devices—while the Mohammadans are steadily advancing in every direction the Hindus are sinking lower and lower.

The Civil Marriage Bill introduced in the Viceroy's Council by Bhupendra s meeting with the same silly & mischievous opposition. At times one is ashamed to call himself a Hindu. The best of them have no moral courage.

[1]b. 1872; eminent Indologist and Professor of Sanskrit, Muir Central College, Allahabad; Fellow, Allahabad University, 1905; Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, 1923-32; Joint Editor, *Indian Thought*; d. 1941.

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They will talk by the yard but when the time comes for action will skulk away & seek refuge in the silliest of pretences.

You must now get through the various prelims as fast as you can. When are you appearing at the exam. and in what subject? You must have at least six months in Chambers after you have done with all the exams. I do not care what class you take.

I enclose a cutting from the Leader for your edification and that of Shridhar.

With love

Your loving
Father

98. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
July 28th. '11

My dear Jawahar,

There was only a post card from you last week. I hope tomorrow mail will bring something better.

I have nothing new to tell you. The rain is still holding off and the heat continues to be abnormal here. But they are having a very good time up in the hills. The weather is abnormally good & fine.

I have received the "command" of His Gracious Majesty King Emperor George V[1] to be in attendance at Delhi—funny way of inviting a gentleman. This is accompanied by a letter saying that the Lieutenant Governor & Mrs. Porter will be pleased to accommodate me and Mrs. Nehru in their own camp. The invitation must be accepted but the trouble is where to put up Nan and baby who will not be admitted as no children are allowed. Brajlal will have to find room for them—also Miss Rice if I cannot arrange for a small camp of my own.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]b. 1865; succeeded his father, King Edward VII on 6 May 1910; d. 1936.

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99. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Moradabad
Dak Bungalow
9.9.'11

Dear brother,

I have been running backwards and forwards between Moradabad and Allahabad for some months past. I got a letter from you when you were about to leave for Kasauli and had been waiting since to hear from you from Kasauli. The long expected letter arrived here yesterday after performing journeys to Naini Tal and Allahabad and I now know how to address you.

Yes, I have been very poorly of late and had to go to Calcutta to consult the famous homoeopaths there. On top of the old complaint of cough which was fast developing into asthma I contracted a chill in stomach which was followed by a severe attack of piles. I am glad to say that I am nearly all right now though the cough still lingers. The treatment for this was interrupted more than once by the other ailments I have mentioned—otherwise I should have been quite free from it by now. By the end of next week I expect to return to Naini Tal for the rest of the vacation and hope to be myself again very soon after.

The results of the I.C.S. exam. are published in London in the third week of Septr. which will be a week of anxious expectation for us. I did not get any letter from Shridhar by the last mail but the mail preceding it brought a few lines which showed that he had not done at all badly. Unfortunately all my letters to Shridhar which I wrote during the last three months are coming back to me through the Dead Letter Office. He was in the beginning very much unsettled in London and acting on Jawaharlal's advice that the College address at Cambridge was the safest I directed all my letters to Magdalene College including the one containing a cheque. All these are now coming back to me with the remark "not known here" which I cannot understand. Shridhar had to wire for money and I had to send £100 by telegraphic remittance. I am now directing my letters to 1, Cleveland Terrace W.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

100. To Jawahar

Moradabad
20.9.'11

My dear Jawahar,

I am happy to say that there has been no hitch in the arrangements I made last week to snatch a few weeks' rest at Naini Tal and I am actually

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leaving Moradabad tomorrow afternoon. I give you my word that nothing shall now bring me back until it is time for the family to return to Allahabad which will be about the 20th Octr. As proof positive of this I may tell you that I have refused a Lucknow case fixed for the 8th Octr. & likely to last the whole week in which the client beginning with the usual Rs. 500-a day gradually came up to Rs. 2000-a day. He has now gone to Calcutta to engage one of the leading men there. The parties belong to the family of the Ex-King of Oudh and the case is a very interesting one. My own interest was by no means small. Imagine earning £1000 in a week--I couldn't have withstood the temptation if I did not feel the rapid approach of a complete break-down. As it is I feel like working in a dream and it is almost past high time to give up all work. I am longing to see Nan & Babs and could spend the rest of my life in their charming company if I were allowed to do so. Babs is the one of my children who is a born genius (this is no disparagement to you). She talks the most perfect Urdoo better English than most M.A.s & LL.Bs. and has now begun to dabble in French. She has a heavenly voice and follows the higher notes on the pi'ano with perfect ease. Singing among a number of children, her's is the only voice you hear when high notes are touched. And yet she has inherited my hoarseness. Five out of seven days she is hoarse and—poor little darling—for no fault of hers. But she is very wayward as all genius is. [sic] This may be due to the fact that she is a universal pet. I can promise you that you will always be proud of your little sisters.

Can you imagine Nan five times her size when you saw her last? She is actually getting fat. Last time I was in Naini Tal, about a month ago, I was quite alarmed and adopted stringent methods. She was to ride morning and evening up & down the Cart-road which is fairly level, not less than five miles each time—no Indian food—none of your fairy tales which you have been sending her in large quantities and every one of which she reads from beginning to end in insufficient light—long walks when it is five—and a number of other directions which she says she has been following literally. I hope to find her much improved.

I am glad you have read several books on Roman Law (you will be surprised to hear that I have not read one). As for your knowing it as much as a cat does I consider it a very hopeful sign. For after all I have had to do with law during the last 28 years I have exactly the same feeling & yet I have never known myself to miss a principle when there is occasion to apply it to concrete instances. You will find that it will all come back to you when your attention is specially directed to it.

In commissioning you to make some purchases for me last week I quite forgot a very useful article i.e. a water-proof (not a rain-proof mind) coat or cape. Something light with the least amount of offensive smell about it (some there is bound to be) and real proof against Indian rain which unlike your English drizzle comes in torrents when it chooses to. The thing should be adapted for walking as well as riding. Kishan has got something like what I want (I don't know if you have seen it) but it is not of the quality I should like to have. Send me the best you can get. As for

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size anything which will fit you will fit me. It ought to be rather roomy.

Shridhar is not very sanguine about his papers but I put down half of his fears to his modesty and expect a cable next week announcing his success.

With love

Your loving
Father

101. To Jawahar

Ravenswood
Naini Tal
Oct. 5th, 11

My dear Jawahar,

The Civil Service results are out but no telegram has been received from Shridhar. The inference is clear. A private telegram published in the papers announces the success of Sir Harold Stuart's[1] son. Reuter has not favoured us this year with Indian successes as was its custom in past years. This is probably due to the fact that there are no Indian successes. This is remarkable. I am inclined to agree with Brajlal that the Civil Service Commissioners are a sort of *be-imans.* I am not in a position to say if any *be-imani* has been done to Shridhar. He did not do many of the papers to his own satisfaction and I cannot take up the cudgels on his behalf. It was silly of him to take up new subjects at the eleventh hour. He should work with wren the whole year and if any *be-imani* is done to him at the next examination I shall take steps to thoroughly expose the Civil Service Commissioners.

I am afraid I cannot avoid the expense of a Court dress. Many people I have met say that being the Govt. guest at the headquarters camp I will be bound to attend all the functions including the Investiture (where Court dress is compulsory). I have however written to the man who is making lists of persons to be invited at the various functions to make sure if it will be necessary for me to throw away this lot of money. On receipt of his reply if I find there is no getting out of it I shall cable to you as the time is short. If you do not hear further you may take it that the dress is not wanted. The chances however are that you will get my telegram long before you get this letter. Should you do so all you have to do is to ask Poole to make a complete dress as is worn when the King & Queen hold a Court. The only instructions I have received are the following:

[1]Sir Harold Arthur Stuart, b. 1860; ICS, Inspector-General of Police, Madras, 1898; First Director of Central Criminal Intelligence Department, India, 1904; Home Secretary to the Govt. of India, 1908-11; Member of Executive Council, Madras, 1912-16; retired 1916; d. 1923.

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"2. At the Investiture at Delhi and at the Court at Calcutta English Civil officers and English gentlemen who are present and who are not entitled to wear uniform will wear Court dress. It is desirable also that English Civil officers and English gentlemen who are not entitled to wear uniform should appear in Court dress at other official functions at Delhi and Calcutta where full or levee dress is prescribed for Naval, Military, Civil officers, but they may at their option wear at ceremonies by day, morning dress with a sola helmet or silk hat, and at evening functions ordinary evening dress.

"*At functions where full dress with trousers is prescribed for Civil officers entitled to wear uniform Court dress with trousers will be worn.*

"3. At ceremonies by day when no specific dress is prescribed for Civil officers, such as garden parties, presentation of colours etc. Civil officers and gentlemen not entitled to wear uniform will wear morning dress with sola helmets or silk hats. At polo matches, military sports etc. plain clothers (lounge suits) may be worn.

"4. The instructions contained in the two immediately preceding paragraphs apply also to Indian Civil officers and Indian gentlemen not entitled to wear uniform who have adopted European dress."

These are all the instructions that have been issued. The words I have underlined show that there are Court dresses with and without trousers & that one kind is to be worn on certain occasions & the other kind on certain other occasions. I must have both. I wonder if there is anything at all to take the place of trousers where no trousers are prescribed. Perhaps it is some kind of knickers or shorts (I) Whatever it is please see that every little thing which goes with the dress is sent including gloves, stockings etc. I do not know if a sword is indispensable. If it is it must be sent.

Please also note that the lounge suits I have already asked you to order for me should be such as may be worn in the presence of the King. As a very large number of people is coming out with the King & for the Darbar it is quite probable that the "Sola helmet" so frequently referred to in the above instructions has been devised in England to meet the demand. If so you must send me one. I suppose Poole or Foster will give you the necessary information.

Above all things please remember that everything sent to me should be by *parcel post* and not as cargo. The packages may be broken up into two or more to admit of their being carried by post. If they are sent as Cargo I shall get them in time for the next coronation.

This silly show has already cost me a lot of time & energy.

With love

Your loving
Father

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102. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 17th.' 11

My dear Jawahar,

The stick and umbrella parcel arrived this week. They are both almost too good for me. The stick is a beautiful one but appears to be very frail as most beautiful things are.

I am sorry you did not insist on having the clothes etc. sent by post parcel and I am almost sure they will not reach me before the Darbar.[1] Poole's guarantee will not save the situation. If they do not arrive in time I shall return the Court dress to Poole as I am not likely to want it again.

Your mother has again changed her mind. Mrs. Wagle and she are the only Indian ladies in the U.P. Lt. Governor's camp and the former has prevailed upon your mother to go. Babs and Nan must go too. The only difficulty is about Babs but there is no help for it. Brajlal & Rammo will have to look after her.

I am very busy with the revision of the Rent and Revenue laws—a most thankless task. The Sub-Committee of the Council appointed for this consists chiefly of Civilians and Zamindars who have no notion of the simplest principles of law and I have to do nearly the whole work of drafting sections of the proposed Bill.

With love

Your loving
Father

I wonder if you get our letters at all. We send them to No. 38 Gloucester Terrace while yours are always dated from No. 30. We were under the impression that No. 30 was only the temporary address but it has appeared on the top of your letters for more than two months now. But as you have not complained of the non-receipt of our letters we shall go on addressing you at No. 38.

[1]The Delhi Durbar was held on December 12, 1911.

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103. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Dec. 22nd, 11

My dear Jawahar,

We have come back from Delhi fed up with royalty—with life and limb intact—which considering the number of fires and other accidents happening around us is no small achievement. Living under canvass in the bracing climate of the camps has done us any amount of good. I went to Delhi with a hacking cough & carried a number of medicines so as to avoid coughing in the presence of the King but there was no occasion to use any of those and I have come back without a trace of cough or hard breathing and am quite fit again. Wife and children have also improved considerably. Nan is in the pink of health and Betty (which is the name given to Babs by Miss Rice and approved by me on account of its close resemblance to Baitee) has recovered much of the lost ground. Your mother is now convinced of what no amount of argument could make her believe viz. that open-air life and regular light English meals are the very thing for her. The Indian kitchen is now practically closed except for the servants and we (your mother, Nan, Betty and myself—being the sole occupants of Anand Bhawan after Ladli's removal with his family to his new house) take English meals at regular hours with the exception of lunch which we do not require.

At Delhi we were treated very well indeed Every possible comfort was found for us in camp and Mr. Porter's (I mean Sir Leslie's) hospitality was lavishly extended to our friends even who happened to call. Braj, Rammo & Nan all partook of it from time to time. As for the functions the only one we missed was the State dinner but we have no reason to grumble as we cannot say that we were superceded. No member of a provincial Council was asked and as for law none but High Court Judges and Advocate-Generals had the honour. At all other functions we were given the most prominent places and received special bows from the King & the Queen. Nan received special attention from the Queen who would certainly have spoken to her had it not been for the stiff formality of the occasion. I was one of the twenty from the United Provinces specially selected to do homage to their Majesties and did not make an ass of myself as Baroda did.

I am not going to Calcutta as I have had enough of royalty and have a lot to do at home.

I am sorry to say that the Gaekawar has fallen from the high pedestal he once occupied in public estimation. I was not quite unprepared for something silly on his part. My seat at the Darbar was not far from his and we were chatting away before the arrival of the King. He asked me what I thought of the show and on my saying that it was the grandest *tamasha* I had seen, remarked that it would have been all right if we had not to act in it like animals in a circus. Perhaps you are not aware of

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what it was that he actually did as I have not seen it reported anywhere. He went straight up to the dais made a slight bow and at once turned his back on the King and the Queen walking away (rather sauntering away) with one hand in his pocket and turning his stick round & round with the other. Where was the necessity of all this if it was all to end in the abject apology which you must have seen? Coming as it did on top of the Statham[1] affair and the nature of the defence raised in it, it has completely wrecked his reputation.

With love

Your loving
Father

104. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Decr. 29th, 11

My dear Jawahar,

Your letter asking for money arrived just after the Banks were closed for Xmas. They will not re-open before the 3rd Jany. when a remittance will be wired to you.

I thought I shall be able to write a long letter to you by this mail but as is usual in the holidays I did not think of it till the last moment. I find I have to write a number of other letters of a more or less urgent nature and must cut this short.

Sir Robert Aikman[2] seems to be very much impressed by your manners. In wishing us a merry Christmas he adds "met *Jack* a fortnight ago. He is a son to be proud of—such perfect manners."

Robin is very much better and if she is only careful there is no reason why she should not recover. But her continuing as Nan's governess is quite out of the question. The new teachers will begin their work from the new year.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]A case in which the Gaekwar was accused of being the co-respondent, but could not be produced in court because of his status as an Indian Prince.

[2]Judge of the Allahabad High Court, 1896-1909 and Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, 1898 and 1908.

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105. To Jawahar

Lucknow
25.1.'12

My dear Jawahar,

I came here on the morning of the 22nd for a meeting of the Council & have since been detained by a client. The new Medical College will be opened today with great ceremony by Sir J. Hewett and I will go back to Allahabad after the ceremony is over.

I had intended to send you some money by this mail but my absence from Allahabad makes it impossible to do so and you must wait for another week.

I did not intend to give you the impression that I cared for a title. It is the last thing in the world that I can expect after the attitude I have adopted towards Govt. officials. It is only men of the type of Leslie Porter who do not allow their heads to be swollen by high official position and can appreciate criticism of their official acts that I can pull on with. Such men are scarce. By the way you should see the Porters again. They have been very nice to us. Do not forget that they are Sir Leslie and Lady Porter now. Their old address C/o Henry S. King & Co. will find them. Stanley and Aikman are two other nice fellows and so are their wives. I wish you would keep in touch with them. Sir John Edge has some shortcomings but has been invariably nice to me. You have not seen him for a very long time and might renew his acquaintance. You are no doubt aware that he is at present sitting in the Judicial Committee of the P.C.

I hope you will not think of obtaining any remission of terms at your Temple unless it be given by the Benchers in recognition of merit. There will be difficulty with the High Court here if the full number of terms has not been kept for any reason except high proficiency.

With love

Your loving
Father

106. To Jawahar

Moradabad
Dak Bungalow
June 6th '12

My dear Jawahar,

Mubarak Ali and Madan Mohan wired congratulations this morning at your success. Your cable must have been opened at Allahabad and will probably be sent to me by post.

I am glad that in spite of what the "coach" told you and you thought

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of yourself you did sit for the examination and manage to get through. As I said in my last I do not look upon it as a great achievement but if you had not appeared or having appeared failed to get through, it would certainly have been a great disappointment. From what you said in your last it was quite certain that you had made up your mind not to appear at the June Examination and I was not only fully prepared for the disappointment but was actually in throes of it when the welcome news came from Allahabad. A huge weight has now been lifted off my mind and I have to thank you for it. You have eminently succeeded in investing the event with an importance which it did not possess but it is a great relief to me that it has come about.

The only question which now remains to be settled is the question of your return. I am sure you must be looking upon it with mixed feeling. But it has to be faced and you have to come back to this land of regrets. I do not however wish to hurry you at all or in any way interfere with any reasonable plan which you may have laid out for yourself before leaving England for good. At the same time I do not believe in your staying any longer in Europe for purposes of study. A short course in any branch of knowledge is not likely to do you any good and in any case you could not well stay away beyond October. What I should like you to do is to recoup your health thoroughly. Robin (Mrs. Booth now) says you were not looking as well as you did before she came out to India. You have also complained of colds and coughs in some of your letters. You must therefore have a holiday and attend to your health. I expect to hear from you on the subject a fortnight hence.

Shamji says you can be called this month. If so you must not lose the opportunity. To make sure I am wiring. I hope you have kept *all* the terms and eaten the full number of dinners at your Temple. You must provide yourself with the necessary certificates proving these facts. You must also have certificates from well-known persons testifying to your "high character" etc. etc. One or two from Cambridge, one from the Temple or a Bencher if you can get hold of him one from Sir John Stanley & one from Sir Robert Aikman will be enough. The last two know exactly what is required and will be very glad to give you the proper thing for the asking. Sir John Edge is a Bencher of the Middle Temple but both you & I have seen very little of him of late. If you can't get hold of a Bencher of your Temple you may go to Sir John Edge who I am sure will be only too pleased to say all that is necessary. Aikman's certificate is bound to be very effective. Don't miss him. All these things are necessary in India though they may seem to you superfluous and even *infra dig* after your degrees etc. Also please do not forget to have yourself enrolled in the High Court of England. It costs only a crown or so.

You will of course have to provide yourself with a wig and gown. Your photo in the Cambridge kit is still expected. Please also send one in the Barristers' kit.

You need not now bother about keeping the account I asked you for in my last. Make up your plans and let me know all you want to do before coming out—also how much money you would require. We are now

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anxiously expecting the moment when we shall have you among us with the satisfaction of knowing that we are not again to part very soon. Nan must be all excitement already & Babs must have caught it from her. As for your mother she must be crying for joy at the early prospect of your return. I am so sorry I am not in the family circle to see & enjoy their happiness.

With love

Your loving
Father

107. To Jawahar

Moradabad
13-6-'12

My dear Jawahar,

I am being flooded with letters & telegrams of congratulations on your success and every one is looking forward anxiously to your return after such a long absence. I have been revolving schemes in my own mind as to various dispositions to be made in the house for your comfort but it is very unlikely that I shall be able to spend much time in Allahabad before you come and I am afraid it will come to your having to shift for yourself.

I see that Kailas Chak has also got through his final and is coming out next month. Pran[1] should also have appeared but there is no news about him so far.

I would advise you to get rid of as many of your things as you can at once. Those fit to be sent over had better be shipped without delay. The less you are encumbered with baggage the happier you would be. I will send you some money next week. The October boats specially the P & O (if you care to travel by it) will be over-crowded and I would advise you to book your passage as early as possible. Let us know your date of arrival in Bombay in good time. All the scattered branches of the family are insisting on being present in force at Anand Bhawan to accord you a hearty welcome home. You should arrive early in November and the day of your arrival will be one of the happiest days in our lives.

I do not know what led you to wire & enquire about Nan's health. She is hale & hearty ever since she got over her ear trouble.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]Pran Nath Agha, a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru; served as District and Sessions Judge, Allahabad.

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108. To Jawahar

Moradabad
20-6-'12

My dear Jawahar,

I am sending you a cheque for £200 but I am not sure that the Allahabad Bank will put Thomas Cook in sufficient funds this mail to enable them to honour it. It is Shamji's fault who forgot to remind me to write to the Bank in time. I have just wired, but I do not know if they will have time tomorrow morning to send a draft before the mail is closed. Perhaps they may wait for my letter and not act on the telegram. It will be safer if you do not cash the cheque for a week. I am still here but am now winding up my argument. I hope to finish on Saturday or Monday following. There will then be the reply but I am not going to wait for it.

I had hoped to have a week at Mussorrie after this case but no such good luck for me. Telegrams are pouring in from Benares and Lucknow and I am afraid I shall find myself at one of these places instead of Mussoorie. I wanted particularly to go to Mussoorie as your mother has recently had an attack of her dyspeptic trouble. She is now getting over it and there is no cause for anxiety.

I do not remember the many questions you say you asked me about your future plans. In fact I do not remember a single one and your letters are not here. I have told you in my last that you should come back in October and have a holiday meanwhile. It is for you to settle your own plans in the way you like best. As far as I can remember there was one of two things that you might have done after being called to the Bar—either attended the School of Economics or Chambers. We cannot afford to keep you away from us for another year, specially your mother who is quite impatient now. Besides I do not think any good will come out of a short course of economics or attending chambers in London. You will have to attend my chambers for a good long time & the sooner you begin doing so the better.

With love

Your loving
Father

I am sending Lady Porter's letter & enclosures. You ought to see them. They have been very nice to us all especially to your mother. I will write to them next week.

M.N.

You might perhaps get a certificate from Porter as well.

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109. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Moradabad
Dak Bungalow
22.6.'12

Dear brother,

Your letter of the 17th forwarded here just to hand. Yesterday I got a wire from my clerk giving the purport of your wire received in Allahabad.

I had no idea that I had not written to you so long. The last I received from you was on the eve of your departure from Mathra to Solon. I expected to hear again from Solon about your address etc. but to the best of my recollection this is the first letter I got from Solon. Besides I have been so much rushed for the last three or four months that I have practically written no private letters except to Jawahar and Shridhar.

Jawahar's passing the Final is not a very great achievement. It is however a great source of satisfaction that it marks the near approach of his return to India after such a long absence. I have allowed him three months' holiday to spend as he likes and where he likes. The idea was that I would go to Europe and take him to places he has not yet seen before he finally came b ck. But my engagements did not permit of my leaving even the plains for the hot weather to say nothing of leaving the country. It must be a great disappointment to Jawahar as it certainly is to me but it is in his own interest that I should keep up my practice in its various branches in order eventually to be able to hand over at least some of it to him. The competition for a beginner is at present very keen and I see many a young & deserving junior about me without anything to do for no fault of his. Jawahar is expected by the end of October or the beginning of November. The one object of my life after his return will be to push him on and if within the next four years he can manage to be independent of me I shall retire in peace and comfort after a most boisterous life of active work extending over 35 years.

I did not send Shridhar the £ 100 you sent in April as he was then leaving for Germany and I did not exactly know of his movements. The cheque was however sent on the 16th May & must have been in his hands soon after he wrote saying that he had reached the bottom of his purse. In his letter received two weeks ago he said he would wire if the next mail did not bring the cheque. No wire was received from him and according to my calculation the cheque should have been in his hands three days after he wrote. I am very anxious about him again. Only a month ago he was re-arranging his subjects so as to fit them in with the maximum marks rule. I hope he has not repeated the mistake of last year & rejected well known subjects for comparatively new ones.

You are perhaps aware that Kishan has been appointed as a *pucca* Deputy Sanitary Commissioner in these Provinces. The other important news is that he is engaged to be married to the third daughter of Jagat Narain Mulla. The girl is one of his own choice.

Wife and children are up at Mussoorie. Wife has been keeping very

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indifferent health but the early prospect of Jawahar's return has cheered her up and she is improving though still in the hands of a nurse.

I have been at Moradabad for a whole month & expect to be detained for a few days more. After that I do not know where I shall go. I am urgently wanted at Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow for important cases but my health even more urgently wants a change to the hills & rest. For the last three days I have been arguing my case here under something like 100° of temperature. Tomorrow is Sunday & I will have some rest. If there is any trace of fever left on Monday I shall run up to Mussoorie after concluding my argument on Monday or Tuesday.

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

110. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
August 1st, 12

My dear Jawahar,

I came in from Azamgarh yesterday to attend a meeting of the Council today & am off again early tomorrow morning for three or four days. I have a case at Lucknow on the 10th Inst. which concerns the second biggest estate in Oudh & is valued at 2 crores of Rupees. The time allotted for the hearing is six weeks. I am pitted single-handed against [an] eminent counsel from Calcutta including a retired High Court Judge who has been tempted by an enormous fee to emerge from his seclusion. It means hard work during the greater part of the High Court vacation but has to be done.

I received two letters from you by the last mail which explains the absence of any letter by the mail before.

I am glad you will be in our midst a little earlier than we expected. Whatever you do please mind your health.

Premnathji tells me that Jiwan has been removed to a nursing home. He has sent him some £ 90 and asks me how much more will be required. I have no idea of what a treatment in the Nursing home usually costs but the £ 90 should be enough to keep things going till another remittance is called for & made. In any case you can spare some money for him if necessary for the short time it takes to wire to me & get what you want.

I do hope Jivan's ill health will not in any way interfere with the plans you have made about recruiting your own health. I insist on your coming back to us in the pink of condition & do not in the least care for your French or any other accomplishment you may desire to have. The greatest

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of all accomplishments is to have the health & strength for the battle of life that lies before you.

Your loving
Father

111. To Jawahar

Lynndale
Mussoorie
29.8.12

My dear Jawahar,

You must have left London today unless there is another cable coming to inform us that you have postponed your departure which is quite on the cards having regard to the fact that you did not know your own mind when you wrote the letter received this week.

I wired to the Allahabad Bank to send you a telegraphic remittance for £ 50 in compliance with your cable. It took sometime to send the money as I was not in Allahabad & there is no Bank here which could remit the money direct without reference to the head office.

Brajlal will very probably meet you in Bombay. I have not the heart to undertake the long journey in the heat of the plains. Besides it would seriously interfere with the self-prescribed "cure" I am going through. Braj should come up with you to Mussoorie. If I am not mistaken Jhansi is in Kishan's circle. He can if not urgently wanted elsewhere meet you somewhere on the line & can come up for a few days as he has the choice of Mussoorie during Septr. I have written to him to contrive to meet you if he can.

We have no horses here this year except Baby's pony. It is hardly worthwhile to have them up for a month.

Do make a point of speaking to Sir James Meston[1] and Lady Meston.

Bring up only such things as you require on the hills. Leave the rest to Cook's to send on to Allahabad. I have already informed them to expect you on the 13th Septr.

Your mother is steadily improving and [had] her first outing in a *dandy* today.

With love

Your loving
Father

[1]b. 1865; entered I.C.S., 1885; Finance Secretary, Government of India, 1906-12; Lieutenant Governor, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1912-18; represented India in the Imperial War Conference, 1917; Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1919; d. 1943.

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112. To Bansi Dhar Nehru

Lynndale
Mussoorie
9.10.12

Dear brother,

Shridhar's success at last assured. What happiness—Imagine Dr. S.S. Nehru B.A., B.Sc. (Alld.) double M.A. (Cantab) Ph.D (Heidelberg) I.C.S. etc. My fondest hope of seeing the Nehru name universally loved and respected is now being gradually realized. What single family in India can boast of such a galaxy of intellect among its scions as the Nehru family. B. Nehru M.A. (Oxon) of the Inner Temple Esq, Dr. K. Nehru M.B., Ch. B., B.Sc. (Edin.), J. Nehru M.A. (Cantab) of the Inner Temple Esq. and last comes the great scholar and scientist Dr. S.S. Nehru. Why, we should conquer the world with these and their descendants who I am sure will go on adding fresh lustre to the family name as years go by.

There is jubilation here and letters and telegrams of congratulations are pouring in.

You say he has only won half the battle. I think he has won the whole and in brilliant style. Reading is nothing to a man of his energy. He will learn it in no time.

The happiness, coming as it does after long suspense is all the greater. Immediately on receipt of your telegram showing anxiety and asking me to make enquiries I cabled to Prannath "Wire Shridhar's whereabouts and final result". His answer has just come saying "Shridhar in London got India Province unsettled". Shridhar's own telegram was of course received day before yesterday.

Congratulating you again & again

Yours affly.
Motilal Nehru

On Tej Bahadur's insistence I have added the letters of I.C.S. to your name.

قبلہ معظم۔ حاضر الوقت احقر العباد تیج بہادر سپرو
آداب عرض کرتا ہے۔ اور مبارکباد عرض کرتا ہے۔
میری دھرجی کشمیریوں کے مایۂ ناز ہیں۔ بندہ آج واپس جاتا ہے۔
تیج بہادر سپرو

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113. To Jawahar

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
22.10.12

My dear Jawahar,

The court has reopened today and the usual routine of work has begun. I was not prepared in a single case of mine as might be expected but had no difficulty in shunting them off.

Enclosed is the R/R for a parcel of the "triangular things" (singharas) for you.

There were numerous enquiries for you in Court. What I am anxious about is that there is not a place in Anand Bhawan for you to sit in. The whole house is in a most unsatisfactory condition—even the annual white-washing has not been done in anticipation of building operations being begun. Mubarak Ali has gone out canvassing and there is no one else to look after these things.

I am afraid my chances are very poor at the next election. In Allahabad I could only get Mohan & Lalit to propose and second me and can at best have one more vote. The latest reports give the following result.

District	*Total votes*	*Mine*	*Raghos*
Allahabad	10	3	7
Cawnpore	4	3	1
Etawah	6	2	4
Fatehpur	4	3	1
Farukhabad	7	4	3
	31	15	16

I have made up my mind to visit some of the Districts this week end. Allahabad is hopeless & Etawah is gradually deserting me. You will remember the 1st report was 5 in favour—the second 4—yesterday it was 3 & today only 2. Shamji Nehru is canvassing there. I am afraid he has bungled over it and annoyed the voters.

The big box with my initials on has arrived. There is no trace yet of the other. Ladli is enquiring. Please let me know the contents and the approximate value so that I may serve the Ry. Co. with a notice of claim.

I hope your mother is having an outing everyday & is gradually improving. Could you leave her for two or three days and

(Incomplete)

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114. To Bhagwan Das

Strictly Confidential.

Snowdon,
Mussoorie,
29 September 1918.

My dear Babu Bhagwan Das[1],

I am writing to you on the subject of a new daily newspaper to be started at Allahabad representing the real public opinion of the U.P. I need hardly tell you what that opinion is after it has so recently found expression in the various Special Provincial Conferences and received the final sanction of the Special Sessions of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. The need for a responsible organ of this opinion has been keenly felt throughout Upper India for some time past and nowhere more keenly than in the United Provinces—"the heart of Hindustan." Madras and Bombay have the satisfaction of being served with a dauntless nationalist press which easily holds it own against all reactionary forces; but the U.P., which till recently had the proud privilege of occupying a place of honour in the vanguard of the progressive movement, are for the moment speechless. You know that the vast majority of the "politically minded" in these provinces are not a whit behind their friends in Bengal, Madras or Bombay in their firm adherence to the programme laid down by the Congress and the Moslem League. They are not speechless because they have lost the power of speech but because the organ of speech they possessed is no longer available to them. The only Indian daily paper of which the U.P. can boast has become frankly hostile to their views and does not pretend to voice the opinions of any but a handful of seceders from the Congress. The result is that the real public opinion of the Provinces has been reduced to the pitiable plight of a tongue-tied giant unable to make itself heard above the buzzing of a few flies. How long are we to suffer this state of things to go on? Are we to continue in this helpless condition sorrowfully allowing opinions which are not ours to be retailed day after day to the prejudice of our deeplaid convictions? A great deal of harm has already been done and more will follow till judgment goes against us by default. Continued inactivity in the matter is a crime for which we are responsible not only to ourselves but also to our friends in other provinces whose patriotic efforts in the common cause are naturally suffering from lack of support from us. The question of a nationalist daily paper in Allahabad is thus not merely a provincial but an All India question, and while I cannot too strongly urge upon our U.P. friends the supreme necessity of putting forth every possible endeavour, I am not without hope that friends in other provinces will recognize the

[1]Bhagwan Das, b. 1869; founder-member, Central Hindu College of Banaras Hindu University and of Kashi Vidyapith; participated in Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements; Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1935-37; Member, Constituent Assembly; d. 1959.

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need of the hour and stretch out a helping hand to us. There is no time to lose. We must rise to the occasion and make the real voice of the province heard throughout India and beyond.

I have not been idle during the past few months which must have been as painful to you as they have been to me. The moment I realized the necessity for a new daily paper I began enquiries in Bengal, Bombay and Madras for a competent editor. We have no doubt able men in our own province but they lack the journalistic experience necessary for a high class daily newspaper. The replies received to my enquiries were not wholly satisfactory and the difficulty I experienced in securing a competent editorial staff has so far stood in the way of appealing to you and other friends for funds. During my last visit to Bombay for the Special Congress I met friends and leaders of public opinion from all parts of India with whom I fully discussed the matter. I am now happy to say that the difficulty has been solved by the kind and patriotic offers of Messrs. B.G. Horniman[1] and Syud Hossain[2] of the "Bombay Chronicle" to take charge of the editorial department at the commencement to enable our men to receive a proper training. This arrangement was approved by all the friends I met in Bombay and particularly by Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant who thought that in the circumstances no better arrangement was possible. A definite agreement with Messrs. Horniman and Syud Hossain could not be arrived at then and there as the necessary funds were not available, but I am hopeful that the latter would consent to act as the whole time editor of the paper for a year or two, and the former will ungrudgingly devote such time at the beginning as may be necessary to give us a fair start. The subordinate editorial staff can easily be arranged in the province itself. You will thus see that all that is necessary in the way of securing a truly nationalist tone and policy combined with a dignified and fearless championship of our cause has been done. All that remains is a question of filthy lucre which I have every hope will not prove a serious obstacle.

I may mention here that it is the general opinion of friends, in which I thoroughly concur, that the full object in view cannot be achieved without starting, side by side with the English paper, a Hindi as well as an Urdu daily conducted on the same lines. I have no doubt that you will agree in this proposal which again is a mere question of more money as the editorial staff can be easily provided locally.

I now come to ways and means. As you are aware there has recently been war legislation prohibiting the formation of joint stock public companies without the sanction of the Governor General-in-Council. The idea is that during the continuance of the war no large sum of money

[1]Benjamin Guy Horniman, b. 1873; a British journalist and author who was committed to the Indian freedom movement; founded with Pherozeshah Mehta, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1913; a leader of the Home Rule League; deported to England, 1919; founder and editor of the *Indian National Herald*, 1926-29; Editor-in-Chief, *Bombay Sentinel* 1933-45; d. 1948.

[2]Syud Hussain, journalist, Member of the Council of All-India Muslim League; served in the *Bombay Chronicle*, 1917-19; editor of *Independent* started by Motilal Nehru.

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should be drawn from the open market for purposes unconnected with the war. The view that in order to insure a successful termination of the war it is as essential for the Government to keep in touch with real public opinion as it is to float a war loan is not likely to commend itself to the powers that be, and it is useless to ask for the necessary sanction. The only alternative open is to float a private joint stock company. There are three particulars in which such a company differs from a public joint stock company. They are: (1) that no invitation shall be issued to the public to subscribe for any shares, debentures or debenture stock of the company; (2) that the number of the members of the company (exclusive of persons in the employment of the company) shall be limited to fifty, provided that for the purpose of this provision where two or more persons hold one or more shares in the company jointly, they shall be treated as a single member; and (3) that the right to transfer the shares of the company is restricted in manner and to the extent appearing from the Articles of Association of the company. You will thus see that whatever the number of shares there cannot be more than fifty members of the company in the sense described above.

After talking over the matter with various friends and businessmen the lowest capital required for the enterprise has been worked out at Rs. three lacs. This must be taken up by fifty members, but the amount of each share need not necessarily be one-fiftieth of the capital as it is open to every member to take more than one share. At the same time it is not safe to divide the capital into a large number of shares for in that case we may be landed into the difficulty of having 50 members with only a part of the capital actually subscribed and no means to find the rest of the capital required. Having regard to all the circumstances I have divided the capital into 100 shares of Rs. 3,000 each instead of fifty shares of Rs. 6,000 each. I admit that Rs. 3,000 appears too large an amount for the price of a single share but it must be remembered that we have to work under the restrictive laws which govern us. Had it been open to us to float a public company I should not have fixed more than Rs. 10 as the price of a share. The numerous letters I have received from correspondents distributed over the whole province calling upon me to take immediate steps to find a reliable channel for the expression of its true feelings and opinions and promising whole hearted support, convince me that I could easily collect double the amount of the required capital if I could only appeal to the public at large for subscriptions. But, as I have pointed out above, we have to work under the disabilities and limitations imposed by the law. The only redeeming feature of the situation is that it allows full scope to the patriotism of our friends, who cannot afford to take a full share, by allowing them to induce others to associate with them in finding the price of one share.

As for the capital being fixed at the large amount of Rs. 3 lacs, I have only to draw your attention to the prevailing high prices and the magnitude of the undertaking. It was found impossible to make the two ends meet on a smallar capital, and large as the capital fixed may appear, it has been pronounced by experts to be too small for the object in view

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if it is not forthcoming within a reasonably short time. Prices are going up by leaps and bounds and if valuable time is lost it will be difficult to make a start even with three lacs. I have in view several second hand plants which can be acquired on comparatively easy terms and also a large stock of paper which is being held over for us provided we close the purchase within a few days. You will thus see that from the business point of view as from that of the political need of the country there is no time to lose. If the paper dealer cannot wait long enough for the private company to be formed I shall have to acquire the stock at my own risk as I am advised that it would otherwise be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the necessary supply.

I have for the present put down four full shares to my name but hope eventually to bring up my own subscription with that of others within the sphere of my personal influence to twenty shares. For the rest I must look to friends like you to subscribe as much as you can and induce others, within the prescribed limitations, to do the same. In the peculiar circumstances of the case we shall have to call in at least 50% of the capital at once and the remaining 50% shortly afterwards. So please make a point of realizing as soon as possible the greater part, if not the whole, of the money subscribed in your district.

Situated as we are, I can only appeal to you and other friends to give what you and they can spare from purely patriotic motives without regard to the commercial side of the undertaking, but I have little doubt in my own mind that in course of time the enterprise, which is the first of its kind in these provinces, will prove a financial success. I am taking special pains to see that the managerial and business departments are placed under proper hands and have in that connection received many useful suggestions from Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar,[1] whose paper the *Kesari* enjoys one of the largest circulations in India.

I am now engaged in drafting the memorandum and articles of association of the company. These and other necessary papers and forms will be printed in due course and sent to you. I have not yet fixed upon the name of the company or of the new daily paper as to both of which I shall be happy to receive your suggestions. Any money realized before an account can be opened with a bank in the name of the company may either be kept by you or remitted to the credit of my account No. 2 with the Bank of Bengal, Allahabad Branch which I am opening with a credit of my own subscription of Rs. 12,000.

Please take early action and let me know what progress you make. The company must be registered in October. It is my desire, which I am sure you will share that our paper should make its appearance during the Congress week in December next.

[1]N.C. Kelkar, b. 1872; a prominent disciple and colleague of Lokamanya Tilak; editor, *Maharatta*, 1897-1919; editor, *Kesari*, 1897-99 and 1901-31; President, Bombay Provincial Conference, 1920; Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1923 and 1926; Member, Congress Working Committee for several years; d. 1947.

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I intend going to Allahabad from Mussoorie about the middle of October.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
(Motilal Nehru)

Your support is urgently needed.

115. To Bhagwan Das

Anand Bhawan
Allahabad
Novr. 1st. 1918

Dear Babu Bhagwan Das,

I received your letter on return from Mussourie just before the re-opening of the High Court when as usual there was a great rush of professional business. This had scarcely abated when the influenza epidemic appeared in the house and we passed some very anxious days as both my daughters were laid up reaching high temperatures. The fever has now gone down but not entirely left them.

I quite agree with you in what you say about the manner in which a respectable daily paper should be conducted. No decent editor has any business to keep back any thing from publication merely because it advocates views with which he is not in agreement. Unfortunately the directors of the "Newspapers" Limited, have surrendered their right of determining and enforcing a settled policy to the Editor of the "Leader". At the commencement I was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of this Company and as such had reason to take exception to the tone of the editorial articles which in my opinion did not accord with the declared policy of the paper. My co-Directors while agreeing with me were obsessed with the fear that if the present Editor, who had done so much for the paper, were to tender his resignation there would be no other suitable person to take his place and the paper would die an unnatural death. The result was that I resigned my place on the Board and have since been an ordinary shareholder with no voice in the management. Quite recently when the writings of the paper called forth a chorus of complaint from every quarter I tried in the first instance to see if I could mend matters by again getting into the Board. You have probably learnt from our mutual friend Babu Sheo Prasad Gupta[1] how that attempt was frustrated by an organized combination. The result made it quite evident that the clique in possession of the "Leader" had made up their minds not to allow the

[1]Shiva Prasad Gupta, b. 1883; a landowner of Banaras who worked wholeheartedly for the Congress and was for sometime its treasurer. He represented the Congress at the Second Congress of the League Against Imperialism; d. 1944.

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shareholders a chance of their affairs being examined and attended to by a man outside the clique.

The idea of acquiring shares in the "Newspapers Limited" had occurred to me but from the experience I have now had of the attitude of a number of influential shareholders I have come to the conclusion that it will not be a success. The Leader being the only daily in these Provinces supposed to represent Indian views the vast majority of its readers though they no longer approve of its tone and writings would prefer to keep it alive as it is to having no other paper to take its place and unless they are assured that it is possible that a daily paper can be run without the omnipotent Chintamany they will take no risks. To start on a share buying campaign and to fall would only introduce a considerable amount of rancour into the bad feeling which exists already.

There is yet another objection to start on such a campaign. The cleavage between the two political parties has now reached a stage when one cannot easily ignore the other. The point of view put forward by the "Leader" is no doubt the point of view of some of our public men. It is not, in my opinion, playing the game to try to suppress it and simply replace it by the opposite view. It is of the essence of dignified high class journalism to enter into the lists fairly and openly.

I do not agree with those who think that the coming into existence of two political parties is a misfortune to the country. In my opinion the growth of a healthy public life requires the kind of division which we are witnessing today. The duty of those who honestly profess contrary views is for each party to instruct the public in its own propaganda and leave the rest to the inexorable law of nature—the survival of the fittest. The millennium of universal agreement on all points has not yet been reached in any part of the world and is not likely to be reached anywhere in the near future, so long as human nature continues to be what it is. The following passage from Root's instructive little book entitled "The Citizen's part in the Government" fully bears me out:—

"As I have tried to point out, however, political parties are the natural product of evolution in the process of popular government: they are not merely the best and most practical way in which the operations of popular government can be carried on, but they furnish the only way to carry on those operations so far as we can judge from the experience of the world up to this time. In no large country has any real popular government ever existed for any considerable time without them."

I hope you will consider the position in the light of the above remarks and make up your mind to assist in an enterprise which has for its object a fair and honest dissemination of all honest opinions. I do not ask you to subscribe to any particular political creed. On the contrary I consider that those who are not tied down to a particular party or a particular view are pre-eminently the persons upon whom I have the strongest claim for help in an undertaking of the nature I have described. The paper itself must have a definite policy of its own to be determined at the commencement and regulated from time to time by a strong Board of Directors but its columns will always be open equally to those who agree in that policy

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and to those who do not. As I have said in my printed letter it is to be the organ of the Indian National Congress. The question what is and what is not in accord with the declared principles of the Congress will always remain open to discussion in the press and on the platform.

I am looking forward to your reply with more than usual interest as I have purposely only appealed to a select number of friends whose judgments are not warped by party or personal considerations.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
(Motilal Nehru)

116. To C. Vijiaraghavachariar

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad.
18.12.1918

Dear Mr Vijiaraghavachariar[1],

Thanks for your letter I wired immediately after I received it to explain my attitude.

There is unfortunately good reasons for your apprehensions but having regard to the present temper of our people I do not think any attempt at a conciliation which involves going back on the resolutions of the special Congress will succeed. I have already warned Mrs Besant and Malaviyaji & told them plainly that the days of blind following were gone. I am sure our Calcutta friends are as staunch as ever. Bombay has shown its mettle and I am assured by Syud Hosain (who as you are probably aware is going to edit my new Nationalist Daily paper) that Jinnah,[2] Horniman & Jamnadas[3] have given Mrs Besant a bit of their minds. We have stout hearts in the C.P. Bihar is not likely to stultify its premier citizen Hosain Imam.[4] As for the U.P. I am sure the great majority of the delegates

[1]b. 1852; Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1895-1901; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1913-16; President, Indian National Congress, 1920; Champion of the Depressed Classes; presided over All-India Hindu Mahasabha Session at Akola 1931; d. 1944.

[2]Mohamed Ali Jinnah, b. 1876; barrister of the Bombay High Court; President, All-India Muslim League 1916, 1920 and from 1934 till his death; for many years he was an ardent nationalist in the early decades of the 20th. century, but later became the champion of Muslim separatism and successfully demanded the creation of Pakistan; Governor General of Pakistan, 1947-48; d. 1948.

[3]Jamnadas Dwarkadas; b. 1890; one of the founders of the Home Rule League, Bombay, 1916; edited *Young India*, 1915-19; Editor, *New India*, 1926-27; Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1921-23; Director, *Bombay Chronicle*, 1917-23; worked in close association with Annie Besant; Member, A.I.C.C., 1916-23; d. 1978.

[4]Hassan Imam; b. 1871; eminent lawyer; appointed Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1912; presided over the special session of the Congress in Bombay, 1918; d. 1933.

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elected are thorough going nationalists & though Malaviyaji's attitude is imposing a great strain on them. I do not expect them to be led by him now. You will then see that we are fairly strong and cannot be easily dislodged from our position.

I am afraid Benares is at present a sleepy hollow having nothing but the "*Leader*" to cater to their patriotism. There are some funny people there whose names I understand Jawaharlal has given to you.

I am leaving for Delhi on the 22nd & hope to have the pleasure of seeing you there.

Yours sincerely
Motilal Nehru

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1. Motilal with his wife Swarup Rani and son Jawaharlal

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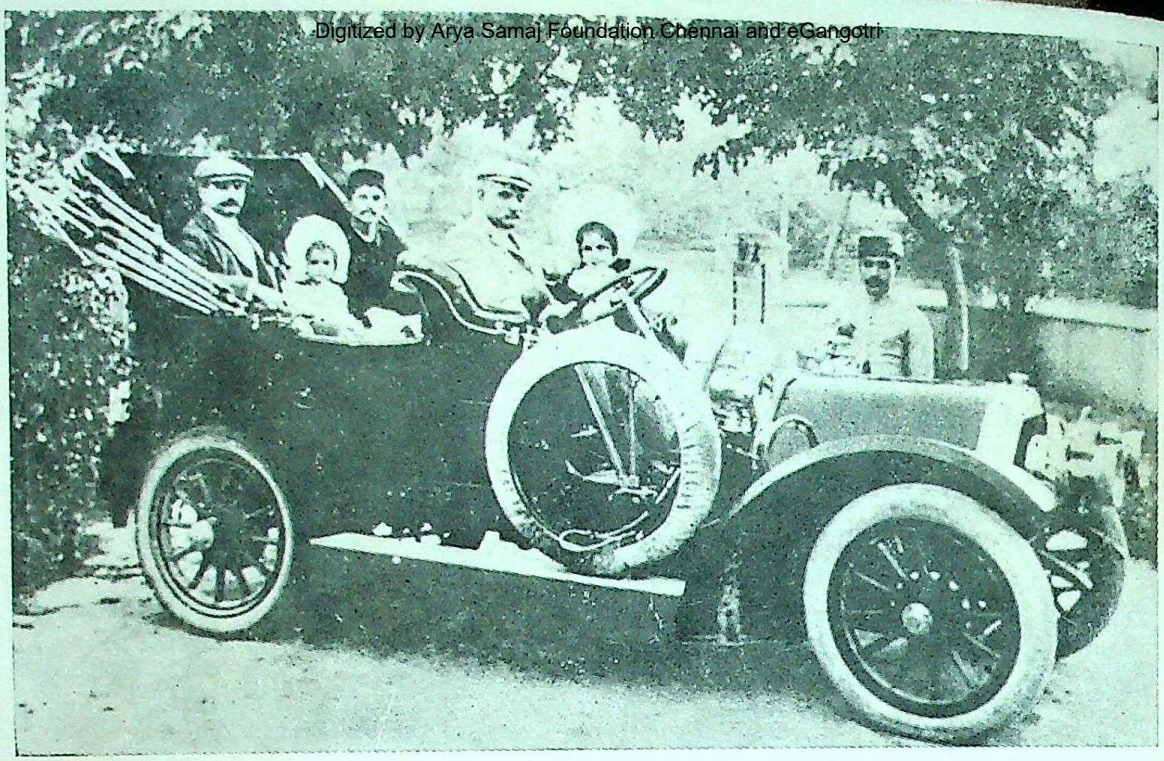

2. Motilal Nehru in his car. Seated next to him is his daughter Sarup Kumari (later Vijayalakshmi Pandit)

3. Motilal Nehru with members of his family

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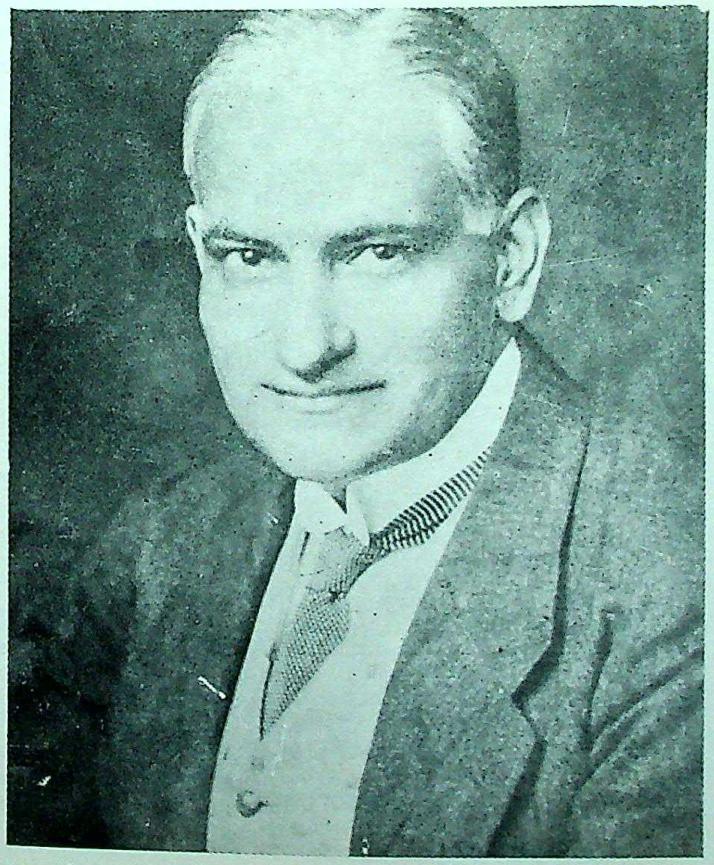
4. Father and son in England



5. Motilal Nehru at the height of his professional career

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6. *The Nehru family.* Standing left to right: *Jawaharlal Nehru and Motilal Nehru.* Seated from left: *Sarup Kumari, Kamala and Swarup Rani with Indira.* Seated on the floor: *Krishna Kumari (later Krishna Hutheesing).*

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WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

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117. Extracts from Motilal Nehru's Diary (Trip to Europe, 1905, M. Nehru.)

Preliminary

I had intended to write this diary from day to day but something or other has prevented my doing so to this day (the 20th May 1905). I hope to be able to be more regular henceforth. The following dates from the 10th to the 20th May are all written today.

There is very little worth recording before we actually started on the 10th May. I did not go to the High Court after the 3rd May & spent all my time in making the necessary arrangements for the voyage and seeing friends who were good enough to call. There is one incident which must be mentioned for my own and my friends' future guidance. I was from the very beginning anxious to secure our cabins on the Spar deck of the Macedonia and wrote to Messrs Thomas Cook & Son to reserve the necessary accommodation on that deck. The latter wrote back to say that there were no 3 berth cabins on the Spar deck & that they had selected two cabins for me & party on the main deck. They were loud in praise of these cabins but I wired to them to telegraph the numbers of cabins available on the Spar deck so that I may have an opportunity of seeing their situation on the plan and noting the points of difference between them & those on the main deck. The reply received was that no berths were available on the Spar deck. I had no reason to disbelieve the assurance of a respectable European firm and thought there was nothing for it but to accept the accommodation offered on the main deck. Shortly afterwards my friend Mr. Krishna who was to be one of the party arrived from Benares and being in very poor health was very much disappointed to find that he would have to do the long voyage in a stuffy main deck cabin. We put our heads together and came to the conclusion that it was impossible for a big boat like the Macedonia to be so full before the commencement of the real "home going" season as to leave no cabin on the Spar or higher deck available. We tried the expedient of asking the P. & O. office directly by wire if any such accommodation was available and took care to use the surname of my nephew Ladli Parshad *Zutshi* as the sender of the telegram hoping it would be mistaken for a German or other foreign name & elicit the truth in reply. The dodge succeeded and the reply was "Excellent accommodation hurricane deck Macedonia available Wire names of passengers!" Thereupon I wrote and wired to Cook's office at Bombay to secure two hurricane deck berths for Krishna and Jawaharlal telling them that the former had ascertained from the P. & O. office that the said accommodation was available. Cook's reply was that they had seen the P. & O. agent but he did not remember having received any communication from Mr. Krishna and that *no berths were available on the hurricane deck*. Mark the evasiveness of the first part of the reply and the utter falsehood of the second. On receipt of this letter I wired to Cook to say that the action of the P. & O. was thoroughly unjustifiable and instructed them to cancel all passages taken for me at once, giving

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the P. & O. notice of my claim for damages and to engage the required accommodation by S.S. Sydney (Medsageries) sailing five days later. The reply to this was that *on account of the sudden cancellation* of two passages the two berths required by me on the hurricane deck became available and were reserved. The reason given was lie no. 2. When we came on board we found several other cabins on the hurricane deck quite empty. It would do good to Lord Curzon to be informed of this example of Western veracity.

The moral of this is that in future if I have to travel by a P. & O. boat my passage shall be engaged by a European friend in his own name and will subsequently be transferred to me.

10th. May.

After some affecting leave takings & partings we left Anand Bhawan at 10.30 a.m. for the Railway Station. Our party, besides myself, consists of my wife, our son & daughter, and our friend Mr. Krishna, who is very poorly, suffering from a severe type of heart disease. All my nephews present in Allahabad & some of my nieces went with us to the Ry. station where we found a large number of friends assembled on the platform to bid us good bye. There was again some blubbering of the eyes and a somewhat free use of handkerchiefs, and after the usual shake hands, the Bombay Mail train slowly steamed out of the station shortly before noon with the first Kashmiri lady and the first Kashmiri baby bound for Europe. Shama and Oma with their children accompanied us to Bombay. The journey to Bombay was the usual hot and uncomfortable Indian Ry. journey. By the kindness of the D.T.S. of the E.I.R, we were provided with a first class carriage of the new type which was free from jolting and on the whole we had a fairly good journey. Krishna bore it very well and did not seem any the worse for it.

11th. May.

We arrived at Bombay at 3.30 p.m and were met by Cook's man at the Victoria Terminus. There were some Parsi relations of Guzder also present to receive us. We drove to the Taj Mahal Hotel where rooms were reserved for us by Cook. The Hotel is a grand pile of architecture and most beautifully located on a plot reclaimed from the sea. We soon found out however that the management and attendance were far from satisfactory. There was very little of day left when we had done with our ablutions and no business could therefore be transacted. We took a drive before dinner and returned soon after.

12th. May.

This was a busy day and was wholly spent in settling accounts with Cook & making purchases for the voyage. Wife had one of her attacks of diarrhoea and was confined to her rooms. Jawaharlal and I were out all day.

The day having been spent in purchases the greater part of the night

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was given to packing. The heavy baggage for the hold was sent through Cook to the Ballard Pier.

13th. May.

Packing continued till 1 O'clock in the morning. Electric light was out and we worked with candles. At about 1.30 I prepared to retire and was adjusting the two beds near the electric fan when the iron top of the head of one of the bedsteads gave way and fell upon my left foot about ½ an inch above the toes. A screw was projecting out of the lower bar and this pierced my foot right through causing profuse bleeding. I must have lost at least ½ pound of blood. The only thing handy was ice and by freely applying it I succeeded in stopping the blood and went to sleep.

Got up at about 7.30 a.m. Sent for the doctor (one Dr. Deans) who lives on the premises but who took quite two hours to come up on a lift and walk a dozen yards. He dressed the injured foot & charged a sovereign for doing so. I could hardly put my foot on the ground and was very doubtful of my being able to walk on the pier.

Niranjan Nath Hukku[1] came this morning from Hubli to escort Oma & her children. He was so late in coming and I was so cross by the accident of the preceding night and with the ever increasing number of packages for our cabin baggage that I did not talk to him on certain important matters connected with his daughter & son-in-law. The major part of the very short time he was with us was occupied by his kindly undertaking to do some shopping for us.

I was informed at Cook's office that the steamer would start punctually at 1 p.m. Krishna & Jawaharlal managed to slip away just when it was time to leave the Hotel & go to the Pier. The medical examination of the passengers was to begin at 12 (noon) and up to 11.30 there was no trace of Krishna & Jawaharlal. I sent the ladies with Niranjan Nath to the Pier & waited for the truants with such patience as I could command after repeated contretemps. They turned up however shortly after and we reached the Ballard Pier in good time. The most foolish thing I did was to leave the delicious mangoes brought by Niranjan Nath at the hotel although pressed by him to take them. We have repented for this almost every day since we left Bombay specially when we saw that some fellow passengers of ours were wiser and had brought a good supply with them. I counted on the hospitality of the P. & O. Co., which to the general disappointment of all proved extremely niggardly.

Shortly after arrival at the Pier we took leave of Niranjan Nath, Shamji, Oma, and the children & marched into the medical examination shed; wife and Nanni going into the one intended for ladies and I followed by Jawaharlal into that for gentlemen. I found the same old doctor whom I had met in 1899 & 1900. The medical examination was a farce as usual, the doctor just feeling the pulse and asking where you came from & where you were putting up at Bombay & passing you out at the other door. Jawaharlal was passed without any questions.

[1]Father of Uma Nehru.

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We walked to the end of the Pier where one of the P. & O. Co.'s tenders was waiting for us. I found some difficulty in walking but managed to get on board the tender somehow or other. We met Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Aikman here. Shortly after the tender filled up with passengers & steamed away from the shores of India to where the Macedonia was lying at anchor and within a few minutes we found ourselves on board this magnificent vessel of which the P. & O. Co. may well be proud. We saw our baggage into our cabins and went on the Promenade Deck to enjoy the breeze and watch the coming of more passengers. This went on till about 3.30 p.m. Indians are believed to be a very unpunctual race and I think the P. & O. Co. got infected with unpunctuality by carrying the Indian Mails for a long series of years. The anchor was heaved at 4 p.m. and the voyage began at last. For about an hour all binoculars were pointed towards the shore we were leaving. Snapshots were also being taken here & there. I had provided myself with a Kodak and a pair of binoculars (by Ross—London—power.= /12) at Bombay through Shamji. The glasses proved satisfactory though not the very best which I wanted to have. As for the Kodak I had never handled it, or for that matter any other Camera, before and my only knowledge of working it was derived from Shamji who gave some hints as to how the instrument was to be used. Jawaharlal followed those hints & took a few snapshots or rather imagined that he did so. It has got to be seen if the films have taken any impression.

We were soon out of sight of land & occupied ourselves by preparing to minister to the inner man. Dinner at 7 p.m., a stroll on the deck by such as could walk and lounging in deck chairs by those like me followed dinner and we retired to rest in our cabins at about 10 p.m.

So far the Sea was beautifully calm and the Macedonia majestically ploughed it without the slightest pitching or rolling—no sign of sea-sickness. The main deck cabin occupied by wife, Nanni & myself was tolerably cool and the electric fan made our sleep quite enjoyable.

14th. May.
Long. E. 67.34 Miles from Bombay 311.
Arabian Sea.

Woke up after a refreshing sleep. Sea continues to be calm. No sign of land. "Water, water, everywhere but not a drop to drink" though there is lots of it on board to drink, and not only water but all sorts of drinks. Henceforth life on board is monotonous. The only thing to do is to study the fellow passengers and eat the numerous meals provided. My bad foot does not allow me to take any exercise though I was determined to walk on deck all day before the accident occurred to my foot. It is the old story of man proposing and some one else disposing. Want of exercise more than counterbalances the good to be derived from the sea breeze and I do not expect to be very much better at the end of the voyage.

It will be convenient to give an account of the ship and my fellow passengers at one place. My knowledge of both is of course expanding

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every day but it is no use giving my experiences piecemeal. I reserve this for the end of the voyage.

15th. May *Arabian Sea* (Contd.)
Lat. N. 16.44—Long. E. 61.1—Miles 386.
Sea perfectly calm, nothing worth recording.

May 16th. *Arabian Sea* (contd.)
Lat. N. 14.41—Long. E. 54.32. Miles—386
The only thing remarkable is the fact that the ship's run was exactly what it was during the previous 24 hours.

May 17th. *Arabian Sea* (contd.)
Lat. N. 13.31—Long. E. 48.52. Miles 339.
Rather warm but not unbearable. Aden is only 234 miles from here. Wrote letters to be posted at Aden almost all day.

May 18th. *Aden*
Arrived early in the morning. Not allowed to land under the Plague regulations. The steamer took a few passengers. I have seen Aden before. It is a barren place & the town is built on a bleak rock. There is nothing interesting except of course the strategical position of the Port which is invaluable. Left Aden after breakfast. At 12 (noon) the position was:
Lat. N. 12.32 Long. E. 43.48 Miles from Aden—73.

May 19th. *Red Sea*
Lat. N. 18.03 Long. E. 39.57 Miles 409.
Weather getting warmer. Very unpleasant in the cabin. Wife objects to sleeping on deck. Had to sleep in the cabin.

May 20th. *Red Sea* (contd.)
Lat. N. 23.48 Long. E. 36.35 Miles 393.
Sudden change of temperature. Caught a chill-getting hoarse, otherwise very agreeable—Sea perfect.

May 21st. *Suez.*
Arrived at Suez at noon. Medical examination as usual a farce. It consisted only in each passenger being called out by name & his or her walking out at the companion door in the presence of the Egyptian doctor.

There was some difficulty with the second saloon passengers about the medical examination. I could not ascertain the true nature of it. An officer of the ship said it was only laziness on the part of the second saloon passengers who took a lot of time to assemble in the Music room—a fellow passenger assured me that it was a case of small pox on board. Whatever the reason we were detained at Suez for full six hours.

Suez is one of the prettiest little places I have seen in a picture. I have never been allowed to land there and have always had to be content with

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such view of it as I could get from the steamer. The only part of it which can be seen with the naked eye from the steamer is what is called the "canal colony". This is situate on a tongue of land having the canal on one side and the sea (the Gulf of Suez) on the other and is at considerable distance from the town the outlines of which are just visible. A strong binocular helps to distinguish some fine domes and turrets from a mass of rather common-place buildings not very dissimilar to the buildings one is accustomed to see in an Indian town. It is however the "canal colony" which has impressed me most. The houses and offices are little villas situate on small grounds of their own with beautiful lawns and rows of trees. From a distance these beautiful little houses look like jewels set in green enamel.

It was dark as soon as we entered the canal and could not see the interesting sights of it.

May 22nd. *Port Said*

Arrived at Port Said at about 9 a.m. Again not allowed to land. The worst of it was that the steamer had to cool here and to prevent the coal dust from entering the cabins and the companions, all the port holes were closed and the canvas curtains on the awnings of the open decks were let down. The steamer was thus converted into a prison and we were all cooped up in it. A large number of passengers came in here and we were pretty full now though there were still some empty cabins on every deck. Divers for money came up to our boat and a few shillings and six pences greeted them. The sport was not at all interesting. Some jolly boats with musicians, male and female, drew up alongside and the passengers managed to make the most of the situation by listening to the music and taking snap-shots by lifting the curtains. By the way we had exhausted the films in our Kodak and not knowing how to replace them had to put away our camera.

It took quite five hours to cool, after which the port holes were opened & the curtains lifted up. The decks were washed clean and once again things began to look bright. We could now have a good view of the harbour and the nearer buildings. I have landed here once before (1900). The row of buildings opposite our steamer is one continuation of restaurants & cafes & tobacco shops with a sprinkling of offices of merchants & shipping agents. It is a pretty sight from the steamer but not much when you actually land and go to these places. The prettiest part is the breakwater on which stands a magnificent statue of M. de Lesseps,[1] the French Engineer, to whose genius the world owes one of the greatest engineering feats of the age which has cut down a tiresome voyage of months to a pleasant trip of a few hours. This is passed as the steamer enters the Mediterranean coming out of the Port Said harbour. Some big ships were to be seen in the harbour—one called the 'Ophir' was a particularly nice

[1]Ferdinand de Lesseps, b. 1805; renowned French engineer and diplomat; responsible for planning and construction of the Suez Canal; the work on the Suez Canal commenced in 1859, and was opened in 1869; d. 1904.

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boat. This was converted into a yacht for the Prince & Princess of Wales.

May 23rd. *The Mediterranean Sea*

Lat. N. 32.48 Long E. 27.9 miles 290 from Port Said.

Sea perfectly calm. Strong head wind—rather cold.

May 24th *The Mediterranean Sea* (contd.)

Lat N. 34.33 Long E. 19.49 miles 379.

It is only 274 miles to Malta where we are due early tomorrow morning. This is a deviation from the ordinary course of the P. and O. boats. They usually pass through the Straits of Bonifacio thus allowing the passengers a view of the coasts of Corsica and Sardinia and also that of the Vesuvius and [illegible]. The former has recently been very active and a very interesting spectacle might have been witnessed if we had taken the old route. We are however to be allowed to land at Malta and this I trust will compensate for our missing the Vesuvius.

May 25th. *Malta*

Arrived at Malta at 6 a.m. We were up on deck at 7. Breakfast announced for 7.30. Some of the more impressionable passengers like ourselves took no note of the early hour for breakfast and decided to have that necessary meal on shore for a change. The majority, however, including Mr. Justice and Mrs. Aikman were more frugal and prudent and did not see the fun of paying for a breakfast on shore when they could have it for nothing on board. These stayed for breakfast while we and certain others landed. Cook's representative introduced us to an English-speaking guide and we took a cab to go round.

There were three things that impressed me most: (1) The Maltese head dress for women (2) the Maltese horses; and (3) the Church of St. John. No. 1. is simply the perfection of an *Orhni* (اوڑھنی) and is much more graceful than the *palla* of the costliest saree which goes over the head of our ladies. The moment I saw it I asked the guide to buy me one and I invested £ 2-5-0 in it. It may be that this head dress which is called the *valetta* especially becomes the pretty women of Malta, throwing up their fair faces against the black background but I think the graceful curve of the valetta would show to advantage even a less favoured face than Maltese

No. 2. These are not large but very firmly set and beautiful animals. Every one of them a high stepper and a picture of a horse.

No. 3. This is a magnificent building. There are two points of view from which to look at it—1st. The artistic & 2nd the practical. It affords the most delightful study to the lover of art. Every niche & corner abounds in workmanship the exquisite beauty of which does credit both to its conception and execution. The moment you get behind the thick curtain which hangs at the entrance, and to a certain extent shuts off the noises of the busy street called after the name of the Church, you feel transplanted into a different world. The first thing which strikes you is the grandeur of the interior as a whole. The grand central hall or the nave

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is a series of stately arches most elaborately decorated in gold & colors.

118. Speech at the First Provincial Conference of The United Provinces in Allahabad, March 29, 1907.[1]

Brother Delegates,

Allow me first to thank you for the high honour you have conferred on me by selecting me to preside over the deliberations of this, your first Provincial Conference. Keenly as I appreciate the great honour, I must confess to a feeling of diffidence in my ability to come up to your expectations, specially when I see around me a number of more qualified friends, any one of whom could fill my place with greater credit and success than I can ever hope to achieve. But I look upon your selection of me to preside on this occasion as the call of my country to place my humble services, such as they are, at her disposal, and where is the man "with soul so dead" who would fail to respond to such a call? I stand before you in response to that call and in this lies my sole justification, my only apology for accepting an honour which I do not believe I deserve.

Let me next congratulate you on the success that has attended the organisation of this Provincial Conference. It is true that the United Provinces have always evinced a keen interest in the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress, and that on no less than four occasions that great National Assembly has in response to our invitation met in our important centres. It is true that we have in past years sent our chosen representatives in adequate numbers wherever the Congress has been held, and true also that some of our representatives have done yeoman's service to the cause of the motherland. But it is equally true that beyond taking this periodical interest in questions discussed at the annual meetings of the Congress, we have so far done practically nothing to minister to the direct political needs and aspirations of our own Provinces. Most of these needs and aspirations are, no doubt, common to us and to the rest of our countrymen, but in regard to these as well as others which are peculiar to ourselves, the importance of local associations in important centres cannot be overrated.

The National Congress meets but once a year, and having regard to the fact that it is a vast assembly of representatives from almost every part of India, it cannot conveniently meet more than once in the course of a twelve month. Now, gentlemen, as you are aware, John Bull is rather dull of understanding and hard of hearing. The potent voice of the Congress is wafted to his ears across the seas every Christmastide. He is

[1]Speech delivered by Motilal Nehru as President of the first Provincial Conference of the United Provinces, held at Allahabad on 29 March 1907. Pages 190 to 200 have been reproduced from *Pandit Motilal Nehru: Life and Speeches*, edited by Kapil Deva Malaviya, (Allahabad 1919). The rest of the speech has been taken from *The Indian People*, 4 April 1907. *The Indian People* merged with the *Leader* later.

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aroused and begins to think that there is something wrong somewhere, but before he can fully grasp the situation, the voice, potent as it is, dies away and he hears practically nothing till the following Christmas, when the same thing is repeated with the same result. By saying this do not by any means intend to imply that the labours of the Congress have so far been in vain. Those labours have certainly been crowned with a measure of success and that in two directions; first, in the educative effect of the Congress movement on the Indians themselves, which cannot be too highly valued, and secondly, in securing from the powers that be at least a modicum of the reforms advocated by it. I attribute the small measure of success attained in the latter direction solely to the fact that John Bull has not been sufficiently aroused. I firmly believe that he means well—it is not in his nature to mean ill—and this is a belief which is not confined to myself alone. It is shared in by many of our distinguished countrymen including several past Presidents of the National Congress, and will be readily endorsed by those who have seen and known John Bull at home. It takes him rather long to fully comprehend the situation, but when he does see things plainly he does his plain duty, and there is no power on earth—no, not even his kith and kin in this country or elsewhere—that can successfully resist his mighty will. But what he needs is a constant dinning into his ears of our just and reasonable demands. It is, therefore, necessary for us to supplement the efforts of the Congress of all India by holding small Congress, so to say, in every Province—nay, if possible, in every town of the Empire—even though it be to re-iterate the same demands. But it is clear that besides, what is common to a particular Province and the rest of India, there must necessarily be in each Province its own special needs that require looking after, its own special grievances that require to be redressed. These it would be impossible to discuss adequately in the Congress of all India and they must therefore be dealt with by the Province to which they are peculiar. Again, there is before us the great task of diffusing knowledge among the masses—as to which I shall have to say a word later on. I have already referred to the educative effect of the organisation and the teachings of the Congress. Those who can carry their memory back to the pre-Congress days will remember what an insignificant proportion of politics entered their own daily lives and those of their neighbours at the time. But what do we see today? Can any one ignore the political ferment we are now living in? Now, what is it that has brought about this result within the short space of 22 years? The spread of education is no doubt largely responsible for it, but where without the Congress could it be possible for all India to meet on a common platform? Could we without the Congress have achieved the noble conception that all India is but one political unit? What is the living force that has so directed the currents of political thought throughout this vast Peninsula as to make them flow in one mighty torrent, the grandeur of which even the most cynical of our critics cannot but admire? Surely, it has not emanated from the Principals and Professors of our Colleges. That living force, gentlemen, is none other than the Indian National Congress. I look upon it as a great National University of Practical Politics. It has

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done and is doing its noble work, but it needs the creation and affiliation to it of local institutions to carry on its great work. We have, therefore, reason to congratulate ourselves that we have today laid the foundation of an institution which supplies a long-felt want in our Provinces. But this is not all that is required. What I have already said as to the inadequacy of the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress must necessarily apply to our Provincial Conference if it is only to meet once a year and not to be thought of in the interval. It is clear that for reasons similar to those which apply to the Congress we cannot conveniently hold meetings of the representatives of all districts in the United Provinces more than once a year. Something must, therefore, be done to secure continuity of work and to keep the Conference *in evidence* throughout the year without the necessity of actually calling it to meet more than once during that time. This can be done by electing every year at the Conference a strong and representative Central Committee for the ensuing year, and also establishing in each District a local Committee, the business of which should be to keep itself in close touch with the Central Committee on all important points affecting the administration of the District. Some years ago the United Provinces Association was conceived with this very object, but it turned out to be a still-born child. This sort of thing will not do. If we are to move with the march of progress we must be up and doing. It is humiliating enough to be so far behind our brethren of other parts of India as to hold our Provincial Conference for the first time after they have held theirs for years past. If our sense of self-respect, to say nothing of our sense of patriotism, is not strong enough to compel us even at this late hour, to shake off the lethargy into which we have fallen, this Conference is a farce. But I cannot believe that the enthusiasm I see around me is anything but the legitimate outcome of a widespread awakening which the United Provinces share in an equal degree with the rest of the country, and I therefore hope and trust that we shall not only put this Conference and its Committee on a firm and solid basis, but by raising the standard and efficiency of their work soon make up for lost time.

This naturally leads me to consideration of the functions we are called upon to perform. The general functions of the Government and of a public body like this Conference are very well understood, and I cannot hope to make any material contribution to the valuable literature already available on the subject. But having regard to the fact that we have brought a new institution into existence to-day, I may be permitted to make a few remarks as to the special aims and objects of this Conference and the *modus operandi* which, in my humble judgment, is likely to secure the best results. In dealing with this matter I am brought face to face with the somewhat embarrassing situation created by a division in our own camp, and I crave your indulgence to allow me to say a few words on this burning question of the day before I deal with the subject directly in hand.

A new school of thought has lately arisen in India holding extreme political doctrines and advocating measures of coercion and retaliation to

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obtain redress for their wrongs. This has given rise to the distinction between "Moderates" and "Extremists" with which you are all familiar. The new school has already found many a staunch adherent to its views in these provinces, especially among the students. I venture to hope that the recent utterances of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, whose weighty words of wise counsel are still ringing in our ears, have done much to dispel the mist which hung in the path of political reform. But I am afraid we are even now by no means in perfect accord as to the line of action we should adopt. Now, gentlemen, it is not my intention on the present occasion to preach the gospel of moderation with a view to make converts. I leave that to be accomplished by abler hands than mine, and there is no abler missionary of that gospel than the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale himself. I cannot pretend to present the pros and cons of the case to you with greater clearness and lucidity than he has done in the eloquent and convincing addresses recently delivered by him in various parts of these Provinces. It is enough for me to say that I do not subscribe to most of the doctrines of my "Extremist" friends, and I sincerely hope and trust that the majority of my countrymen will not do so. At the same time, I look upon the "Extremist" as only the natural outcome of the present condition of things. The movement which he represents took its rise in Bengal where the deplorable incidents of the past few years drove the vast majority of people to the very verge of despair. It was this feeling of despair which, in the natural course of things, gave birth to that child of adversity, our good friend, the Bengal Extremist. He had not to wait long before he found sympathisers in the United Provinces, but as was also natural, the first to enlist under his banner was the young blood of Colleges and Schools. There is, therefore, nothing to be wondered at in a situation which is the natural effect of artificial causes forced upon the people against their will. For my part, I think it is a healthy sign of the times that a class of people of the type of our Extremist friend should now and then arise in the country to sound a note of warning. He brings a message fraught with the deepest meaning to both the Government and the people of the country. While on the one hand he affords unmistakable proof that the new spirit is aboard, he serves on the other hand to show equally clearly that the methods evolved by him out of the depths of despair are not suited to the real wants of a young, promising and hopeful nation. I say this only of some of the methods advocated by our friends of the new school, for there are other methods also recommended by them which are not only perfectly legitimate but are worthy of being adopted and followed by every true lover of the country. On the whole, therefore, our friends bring a message of life and progress. The only natural development of the situation created by them will be that as time goes on the new spirit will grow and expand, the methods, as to which we are all agreed, will be more and more largely and zealously followed, and the methods, which the so-called Moderates are not at present ready to adopt will, I hope and trust, never need to be called into requisition.

To make myself clear, I must here briefly allude to the nature of these methods and the developments I expect from them. "Swadeshi-ism" and

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"Boycott" are the two weapons by which our friends propose to fight the Gods that preside over our destinies. Now so far as the doctrine of Swadeshi is concerned, I place its adoption in the category of those meritorious methods which every true lover of the country must employ and follow to the best of his ability. In the beautiful words of Mr. Gokhale, "Swadeshi-ism at its highest means a fervent, passionate, all embracing love of the motherland". That being so, who can find fault with you for being a true Swadeshist? Least of all, the English people who are themselves most intensely Swadeshi. "Patronize home industries" is an injunction which meets the eye almost at every turn in England—on the tops of buses, at Railway Stations, places of amusement, etc. No Englishman–not even Lord Curzon–has ever said anything against true Swadeshi-ism. Many distinguished Englishmen–including Lord Curzon–have repeatedly expressed their willingness to accord their full support to the true Swadeshi cause. The new spirit that I have spoken of has not created but revived an interest in Swadeshi-ism, but we owe to it a number of new mills and factories and a revival of some of the hand industries of the country. As this spirit grows, more new industries will come into existence, more of the raw produce of the land will be utilized in the land itself, and a time will come—however distant it may be, but come it must—when we will be in a position to compete with foreign goods in the open market. The only natural means of driving the foreign articles out of the market that can ever succeed is to produce a better and cheaper article in the country itself. When you arrive at that stage of perfection in your indigenous industries you will require no boycott to prevent the import of British and other foreign goods, and this is what I mean when I say that a zealous pursuit of the means and methods as to which no exception can be taken will, in the fullness of time, secure to us everything that we desire and render the application of methods of doubtful propriety and practicability entirely unnecessary. It is for this ultimate development which every true son of India must devoutly wish and pray for, that I welcome my friend the Extremist and thank him for the new spirit he has infused into Indian life. But when he goes further and associates boycott with Swadeshi-ism as a means to the same end, I find myself on the brink of a precipice and cry, halt!

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

It is contended with some plausibility that true Swadeshi-ism comprises and includes boycott. The bounds of boycott, using the word loosely, do at first sight seem to overlap those of Swadeshi-ism to a certain extent; for, the exclusive use of country manufacture must necessarily imply abstention from the use of foreign goods. But that is neither the true import of the word "boycott" nor is it all that is meant by our friends when they use the word. They speak of a commercial and a political boycott. It is the former which lends plausibility to the argument, and I am free to admit that, even taking it in the worst sense of the word, it is

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certainly calculated to supply a temporary impetus to Swadeshi movement. But are we not too well convinced of the value and necessity of pure Swadeshi-ism, having for its source the purest spring of the love of the motherland, to require the aid of an impetus based on vindictiveness and ill-will to others? If we are not so convinced, it requires no prophet to say that the Swadeshi movement cannot last in spite of all the vindictiveness and ill-will in the world. You cannot subvert the laws of nature by mere spite, and the law of the survival of the fittest is an inexorable law which finds its application in all human undertakings. A vindictive and a spiteful pigmy, with a broken reed to rely upon and use as a weapon, can have no chance in a fight with a steady and powerful giant armed with the most up-to-date weapons of offence and defence. By proclaiming a boycott of English goods you openly defy the greatest commercial power of the world, which is also the predominant political power in the land. It is ridiculous to think of driving out of the market the output of innumerable mills, and factories of one of the greatest manufacturing countries of the world by your tiny handlooms and staggering mills, trusting for the rest to spite and vengeance. I quite appreciate and admire the spirit of voluntary sacrifice which induces a man to buy an inferior and more expensive article made in the country in preference to the superior and cheaper foreign article and I shall be glad indeed if the number of such men increases day by day. But the ratio, which the number of men permeated with Swadeshi of such a high order, bears to the whole population of these Provinces is, and will always be, insignificant, and you cannot expect any such increase in that number as will have an appreciable effect on the import of foreign goods. Men of this type are to be found only in small numbers in the chief cities, but foreign goods have now penetrated into the remotest and most inaccessible corner of every district; and you must remember that the greatest consumers are the masses. Unless, therefore, the masses are actuated by the same spirit of self-sacrifice as the band of heroes I have mentioned, you cannot effect any decrease in the import worth the name. You know, as well as I do, that the masses, oppressed as they are by chronic poverty, cannot afford such a sacrifice even if they were inclined to make it. It will take a long time yet to convince a villager, that he must, for the sake of his country, abstain from buying the cheap Lancashire *dhoti* and spend a greater proportion of his hard-earned wages on the indigenous article than he can spare from the more immediate and pressing wants of himself and his family. Let us go a step further and assume that a common Indian rustic will be persuaded to take your view. Where is the supply to come from to cope with the universal demand that will thus be created? Gentlemen, the success of a commercial undertaking must depend on commercial and not on political principles. So long as human nature is what it is, the trader who offers the best value for the customer's money is bound to succeed, whatever his nationality or political creed may be.

Apart from all this, it must be remembered that an ill-trained artisan, with imperfect tools and implements, who finds a ready sale for the crude and clumsy article turned out by him will have no stimulus to improve

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himself and his methods. By freely patronizing him you take away the one incentive he has to progress, and thus sanction a perpetual deterioration of the quality of your manufactures.

Again, it appears to me that those who talk of an intimate connection between Swadeshi and boycott forget the aim and object of the latter movement. It was avowedly put forward as a political weapon and not as a commercial enterprise. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, in his presidential address at the Congress of 1905 at Benares, characterised boycott as a "political weapon used for a definite political purpose," and added that our friends of Bengal "had in the circumstances of their position every justification for the step they took". The circumstances of that position were described as follows:

> We all know that when our Bengali brothers found that nothing would turn the late Viceroy from his purpose of partitioning Bengal, that all their protests in the press and on the platform, all their memorials to him, to the Secretary of State and to Parliament were unavailing, that the Government exercised its despotic strength to trample on their most cherished feelings and injure their dearest interests, and that no protection against this of any kind was forthcoming from any quarter, they, in their extremity, resolved to have recourse to this boycott movement.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and other speakers spoke in the same strain, and the result of the discussion was the 13th resolution of that Congress which ran as follows:—

> *Resolved:*—That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people.

Now, gentlemen, imagine for a moment that the present Government, under some inspiration from above, suddenly awoke to a sense of the grievous wrong inflicted by its predecessor on our Bengali brethren and cancelled the partition of Bengal. Would not our brethren of Bengal be in duty bound to withdraw the boycott? What will then become of the Swadeshi movement if it really depends to any considerable extent on boycott? It can either exist without it, or it cannot. If it cannot, are you prepared to sacrifice Swadeshi-ism—"the fervent, passionate, all-embracing love of the motherland"—at the altar of satisfied revenge? The object of the boycott, which in the eloquent words of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea is a "protest, nothing more than a protest, against the indifference of the British public in regard to Indian affairs," being gained, it must in all honesty be forthwith withdrawn, and with this withdrawal the whole edifice of Swadeshi-ism must crumble to pieces. But if it can exist and flourish without boycott after the setting aside of the partition of Bengal, why, in the name of common sense, can it not thrive without boycott before

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the setting aside of the partition? The real truth is that true Swadeshi-ism, the offspring of the noblest conception of the love of the motherland, does not, in the least, depend on boycott, which however excellent a political weapon it may be, is after all associated with the lower passions of hate and revenge. From a commercial and economic point of view there is thus no real connection between Swadeshi-ism and boycott. The only true means of helping the Swadeshi movement is the development of home industries on modern lines. Let us direct all our energies to it, let our capitalists come forward and establish new mills and factories. Let our bankers and money-lenders employ their money to utilize the raw products of the country in the country itself. Let the ancient families of Talukdars and Zamindars who still possess buried hoards of gold and silver unearth their treasures—not to give them away in the service of the motherland, as that glory can only be reserved for the few—but so to employ them as to serve themselves as well as the motherland. Let us found technical institutions in the country for the training of our young men in the modern arts and manufactures. Let us send out our young men to Europe, America, and Japan to learn those arts and manufactures. These, gentlemen, are some of the true methods of putting the Swadeshi movement on a firm and solid basis. You can do it no real good by the irritation and excitement of the hour, which at most can only create a false appetite that vanishes with the disease. Our real difficulty lies with our own people—especially the monied classes—and in the want of adequate help and sympathy from the Government in the extension of primary and technical education. Boycott will hardly help to arouse the dormant energies and dispel the old-fashioned prejudices of the Indian capitalist. It will certainly estrange the sympathy of the Government. What then is the necessity of it for the holy cause of Swadeshi?

Let us see if we in these Provinces require the boycott as a political weapon. Now, what are the conditions under which recourse may be had to boycott? Let the two veterans whom I have already quoted answer the question in their own words. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea says:

> The boycott is a political instrument in our hands. We resolved to use it when necessary subject of course to the safeguard that it is only to be used in extreme cases when there is a sufficiently powerful body of public opinion to justify its use and to ensure its success.

Mr. Gokhale says:

> A weapon like this must be reserved only for extreme occasions. There are obvious risks involved in its failure and it cannot be used with sufficient effectiveness unless there is an extraordinary upheaval of popular feeling behind it. It is bound to rouse angry passions on the other side and no true well-wisher of his country will be responsible for provoking such passions except under an overpowering sense of necessity.

Now, gentlemen, what is the extreme occasion, and where the overpowering necessity in these Provinces to take up such a double-edged weapon against the Government, with the very probable result of hurting yourselves? Where is the "extraordinary upheaval of popular feeling"

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against any measure of the Government in these Provinces which could induce any well-wisher of the country to take the "obvious risk" of "provoking angry passions on the other side?" There is clearly none. I admit we have serious grievances, our just and reasonable demands have not received the attention they deserved, and generally we are not treated as we ought to be. But what have we so far done to obtain redress? Practically nothing beyond passing certain resolutions in the Congress. What right have we then to refuse to adopt the intermediate stages of constitutional agitation and at one jump to alight on boycott as the most suitable method? There being no justification for the adoption of the method in our own Provinces, are we to adopt it out of pure sympathy and love for the sister Provinces of Bengal, simply because our brethren there have thought fit to adopt it? I do not on this occasion feel called upon to discuss the propriety or otherwise of the step taken by our Bengal friends. They have taken it with the full consciousness of responsibility, and they are the best judges of their own action. They assure us that they have "a sufficiently powerful body of public opinion to justify its use and to ensure its success," and we must accept that assurance. But so far as we in these Provinces are concerned, there is neither any justification for its use nor any guarantee for its success. The back-bone of both, the powerful body of public opinion, is entirely wanting. We cannot afford, out of a futile sense of sympathy, to knock our heads against a stone wall. No other Province has yet come forward to give any indication of such a practical expression of sympathy, and it behoves us at least to wait till the more advanced provinces take the lead.

I have so far endeavoured to show that the boycott movement even in its mildest form—a form in which it has been approved for Bengal by the last two Congresses—is entirely unsuited to these provinces. Our extremist friends, however, preach a boycott of the most sweeping character. They are not content with the boycott of British goods. They would have nothing to do with anything British including British institutions. They would have you make the Government of the country impossible. They talk of passive resistance that charming expression which means so little and suggests so much. But in asking you to sever pour connection with the Government they recognize the importance of discretion as the better part of valour, and confine themselves to your giving up honorary offices which carry no emoluments with them. It is difficult to see why the question of filthy lucre should at all weigh with us in carrying out a patriotic duty but our friends are too keenly alive to a sense of the ludicrous to push their propaganda to its logical outcome. One gentleman goes the length of saying that he would prefer "anarchy with plenty" to "peace with poverty." "Anarchy with plenty" is indeed an original idea. Perhaps the man of plenty meant by the gentleman is the freebooter and the cut-throat. There are similar statements [which] owing to their inherent absurdity carry their own refutation with them. The only wonder is that they should be seriously made. I for one tremble to think of the condition of things which would prevail if all our Government and aided schools and colleges were to be closed, all Municipal and District Boards

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abolished, and the elected element of the Legislative Councils done away with. Where shall we then be? The answer is plain enough; nowhere. We cannot even occupy the position we did at the beginning of the British rule when the institutions I have just mentioned did not exist. Remember the price you have been paying for upwards of a century of the few blessings that you enjoy. Remember the greater price you will have to pay if you throw away these blessings, apart from the inherent value of the blessings themselves. For these reasons and many others that can be easily adduced it is clear that while we must welcome the Swadeshi movement with open arms we must not think of taking up the ponderous weapon of boycott in our untried hands. We must confine ourselves to methods which are at all times perfectly constitutional and legitimate. I would go further and say that we must begin our work in these provinces in a spirit of sympathy with and trust in the Government.

Now, gentlemen, I do not hold a brief for the Government, nor am I a supporter of the present system, the shortcomings of which we are here to consider and call attention to. Far be it from me to recommend to you a policy of mean, cringing, fawning flattery of the powers that be. You are men and you must be manly. You have rights and you must stand like men on those rights. You have grievances and you must like men demand redress. Be brave, unbending, persistent in advocating and carrying out reforms. Fear no one however high he may be placed. Trust in the strength of your cause and support it to the death. Take a mighty resolve that India "shall suffer wrong no more" and devote all your energies to acquire the strength and the ability to protect the motherland from insult and injury. This strength and ability must come from within, at great sacrifice, and in the fullness of time. It does not consist in an impotent defiance of constituted authority. A respectful attitude towards the Government of the country is not only not inconsistent with manliness, but is the very essence of the true and healthy manhood of a nation. While on the one hand you have grievances and wrongs that cry loudly for redress, you must not forget that you enjoy, on the other hand many great blessings under the aegis of British rule, not the least of which is the right you are at this moment exercising of assembling in public meeting to criticise that rule itself. In all gratitude we must acknowledge the rights and privileges conferred in the past, and with all the strength, that the justice and righteousness of our cause inspires in us, we must ask for more.

This is our first Provincial Conference, and when I say we ought to begin our work in a spirit of sympathy with the Government, I do not ask you to do any more than your plain duty as gentlemen. We are constitutional agitators and the reforms we wish to bring about must come through the medium of constituted authority. We are thus directly concerned with the Government. Now the least that the Government, which is after all human, will expect of you to use temperate and respectful language. Your speech should not be marred by excess, nor your demands by extravagance. Strong language is the surest indication of a weak case and should by no means be indulged in. You must make it possible for

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the Government to sympathise with your aims and aspirations, and you cannot do so unless you sympathise with the Government in the difficulties which it has to contend against. You may take it that the Government is not a bed of roses to sleep on. It has its own troubles and difficulties, and it expects you to realize those troubles and difficulties as much as you expect it to feel for yours. The attitude which I recommend for adoption by you is all the more necessary in the peculiar circumstances of these Provinces. Yours is a new institution and you have a new Government. Neither is committed to any definite policy towards the other. I implore you to so conduct your proceedings and to so frame your resolutions as not to compel an administration which has opened with such hope and promise to fight shy of you. Give it the chance to come to the rescue. But if it does not, why, go ahead. Move heaven and earth till you get what you fully deserve. If you cannot get it in your life time, do not despair. The noblest legacy that you can possibly leave to your children and your children's children will be the fruition of your patriotic efforts in the cause of the motherland. All I beg of you is to adopt constitutional and not doubtful means, to be brave but not rude, to be dignified but not defiant.

Gentlemen, I should not have taken so much of your time in discussing Swadeshi and boycott, had not these very matters so violently agitated the public mind of late. It is of the utmost importance for us in our first Provincial Conference to declare in no uncertain terms the attitude we propose to take in reference to these matters. I have laid before you what according to my best lights consider to be the true position. It is for you to accept it or not as you please.

I now pass on to the most important problem we have to solve, I mean the Hindu-Mohammedan problem, which in this, more than in any other part of India, is the great question of all questions. No one has ever doubted the immense advantages which must necessarily accrue to both communities by a perfect union and a thorough understanding between them. Theoretically, there is absolute unanimity on the point. The true relation between the two communities was beautifully summed up in a single oft-quoted sentence by one of the greatest Indian Mohammedans of modern times, the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.[1] Hindus and Mohammedans were, he said, the two eyes of India—injure the one and you injure the other. On another occasion, more than 20 years ago, the same great man is reported to have said: "We (Hindus and Mohammedans) should try to become one heart and soul, and act in unison; if united we can support each other; if not the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both." It is true that in later years he felt it his duty to secede from the Congress movement, but the words I

[1]b. 1817, foremost among the Muslim reformers and educationists in the late 19th century; founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, 1875; Member, N.W.P. (U.P.) Legislative Council and later additional member Governor-General's Legislative Council, 1878-82; Knighted in 1888; opposed the Indian National Congress and advised Muslims to remain aloof from it; d. 1898.

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have quoted, which were uttered in 1884, were as true then as they will remain for all time to come.

Again you have recently had amongst you, a Mohammedan Ruling Sovereign, His Majesty the Amir of Kabul, to do homage to whom Hindus vied with Mohammedans at every place he visited. This typical Eastern Potentate showed a breadth of view which would do honour to any Western Sovereign. His Majesty took in the whole situation at a glance and repeatedly emphasized the necessity of union and friendship between Hindus and Mohammedans. When he was at Calcutta he recited a Pashtu couplet which means "there is no lane, no street, no place where Hindus and Mohammedans can not be friends."

The sublime truth of these aphorisms is obvious, the glorious end to which they point is evident. Yet the pity of it is that we find no votaries of the sublime truth, no workers for that glorious end. And why? I must confess, gentlemen, that a confirmed optimist as I am, a feeling akin to despair comes over me when I think of what I consider to be the true reason why. Truth is often unsavoury but in this case it unfolds a distressing tale of shame for the leaders of both communities. Distressing must a situation be, the difficulties of which are clearly traceable not to the ignorant masses but to the educated classes. Go to any village in any district which is inhabited both by Hindus and Mohammedans and you will find them living together in perfect peace and harmony, exchanging social courtesies with genuine cordiality, and trusting each other with implicit confidence. Go to a large city and the condition of things changes. When the leaders meet in public or in private they practise the very refinements of courtesy and politeness, prompted no doubt by their good breeding and education. But the man who runs may see that there is a certain amount of distrust of one in the other, a vague apprehension that one is hatching some vile plot to injure the other. The ignorant and illiterate of both communities take their cue from the leaders, whose feelings are necessarily reflected on the masses, with whom they find expression in open hostility.

But while the leaders are largely to blame for this animosity, Government officers of high rank cannot be entirely absolved from all share in it. At the annual meeting of the Bengal Landholders Association, held on the 17th instant, the Maharaja of Darbhanga[1] only echoed a common feeling in these provinces when he said:

"It is impossible to ignore the fact that there is undoubtedly a strong belief, erroneous or otherwise, entertained by some of our people that an attempt is being made in certain quarters to play off one community against the other". I do not believe that the attempt in all cases is a deliberate one, but we are all familiar in our own provinces with Collectors, Commissioners, and even Lieutenant-Governors who have been either pro-

[1]H.H. Sir Rameshwar Singh, b 1860; succeeded to the Darbhanga *gaddi* in 1898; Member, Imperial Legislative Council 1899 & 1904; President, Landowners' Associations for several years; President, British Indian Association, Bihar; President, Bharat Dharma Mahamandal; Member, Police Commission, 1902-03; Member, Executive Council, Bihar & Orissa, 1912; d., 1929.

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Hindu or pro-Mohammedan (mostly the latter) in their own time, and have done a great deal more to widen the gulf between the two communities than the individual action of the members of those communities could possibly do. It is neither just nor generous to ascribe any motives other than honourable to the gentlemen who have shown special tendencies and inclinations of this nature. There is much in the language, literature, and past history of both communities that commands the respect and admiration of the world to this day. It might be that a zealous student and admirer of the literature of one community, with the best of motives, evinced an interest in the members of that community. It might be that a strong and active officer in high place, from a pure sense of duty to reward merit, and without the least notion of helping one community at the expense of the other, inaugurated reforms which adapted themselves more readily to the circumstances of one community than those of the other. And lastly, it might be that an officer in high place, beginning with no special inclinations of his own, but succeeding, we will say, a pro-Hindu predecessor was made to feel that he should do something for the Mohammedans, and thus became, towards the close of his official career, a pronounced pro-Mohammedan. All this from the particular point of view of the officer concerned might be perfectly fair, but the fact remains that strong likes and dislikes of this nature in the powers that be can only tend to promote racial antagonism and jealousy. No real good is done to either community by those who appear to favour it. A few appointments thrown open or a small concession made to a particular class can neither bring about the political regeneration of that class, nor can it annihilate the solid progress made by the other. The alternation of a pro-Hindu with a dozen pro-Mohammedan officers works out the law of compensation almost accurately. Any preponderance of one class over the other brought about by their action readjusts itself within a few years, at the end of which both stand in very nearly the same relation in which they stood before there was any such preponderance. But the sting it leaves behind remains, the animosities it creates continue, and the destructive game is kept up from generation to generation to retard our national growth. And all this simply because in the general scramble for Government patronage those who ought to know better choose to look upon each other with suspicion and play into the hands of the authorities, who are not in hurry to behold the grand spectacle of a united India. The real root of the mischief lies in the reason assigned by Sir Henry Cotton[1] in his New India for Sir Syed Ahmed's sudden change of attitude towards the Congress movement. Sir Henry says:

> His (Sir Syed's) acute sense of political opportunism was prompt to seize the practical advantage which would accrue to the interest of a minority which dissociated itself from any political demonstration distasteful to the authorities. He, therefore, threw the whole of his

[1]b. 1845; Chief Secretary to Bengal Government, 1892-96; Acting Home Secretary to Government of India, 1897; Chief Commissioner of Assam, 1897-1902; retired, 1903; Liberal M.P. for Nottingham East, 1906-10; sympathised with Indian aspirations, elected President, Indian National Congress, 1904.

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influence into the scale against the growing national movement. He counselled his co-religionists to refrain from political agitation and as a body they followed his advice.

A policy which recommends the adoption of opportunism of any kind must necessarily be a shortsighted policy, but when we consider the attitude of the authorities towards the Congress in the early years of its existence the adoption of such a policy for a time may well be excused even in a man of Sir Syed's acuteness. The times however are now completely changed. The perfect legitimacy of the Congress movement has received the sanction of no less an authority than the Secretary of State for India and other eminent British statesmen. There is, no doubt, our old friend, the Anglo-Indian Press which still tries to scoff at the grand national movement, and having exhausted its stock arguments threatens "to descend with fire and sword" upon us. But we attach no more importance to theexploits of the would-be editor-warrior's arms than we do to the venom which flows from his pen. We are now quite used to various types of plague, and the existence of an Anglo-Indian press cannot add perceptibly to our burden. Putting aside the Anglo-Indian press we find that there is substantial agreement in high official and non-official circles as to the legitimacy of the Congress movement. The reason, therefore, which induced Sir Syed to dissociate himself and his co-religionists from that movement, and to adopt a policy of political opportunism does not exist any longer. That policy itself has been tried for over 20 years by the followers of the great Sir Syed, with the result that they find themselves no better off at the present moment than they were when it was adopted. What is more, our Mohammedan friends themselves no longer feel inclined to follow Sir Syed's advice "to refrain from political agitation," and have already started a congress of their own asking for the same rights and privileges for which the Hindus have been crying themselves hoarse for the last 22 years. They will however have nothing to do with the Congress of all India. They have assumed a new name—the All India Moslem League—but a rose will smell as sweet, call it by any name you like. The principle, that this is an age of political agitation, has been conceded by our Mohammedan brethren. As I have already said, the reason which compelled their great leader to resort to the makeshift policy of opportunism has ceased to exist; that policy has itself been tried and found out to be illusory. What then, in the name of common sense, is it which after all these trials and experiments does not permit the flow of natural sympathy between the "two eyes of Indla"? What is it which still prevents long-separated brothers from embracing each other in a loving embrace, and putting out their united strength in the service of a common mother? It is nothing but the same old mad race after the empty bubble of official favour which bursts in the hand that catches it.

Let us put an end to this unseemly struggle which, at best, can only lead to the personal aggrandisement of the few, but involves the wanton sacrifice of the dearest interests of all. Only bring the leaders of both

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communities together in a genuine spirit of co-operation with, and confidence in, each other and the whole mass of the Hindu and Mohammedan population of India will be so welded together as to present an invulnerable front to a startled world. Go on with your petty bickerings and recriminations and both Hindus and Mohammedans will never emerge from the depth of political degradation to which they have sunk. And my Mohammedan friends, whatever you may do, beware of your friend the Anglo-Indian press which is booming you at the present moment for its own ends. The moment you show signs of real national life it will surely threaten to "descend with fire and sword" upon you.

Attempts have been made in the past to bring the leaders of the two communities together but they have all proved abortive. The following question was put as far back as the year 1895 by Prince Sir Jahan Kadr Mirza Mohammad Wahid Ali Bahadur in the Council of the Governor-General of India:

> Will the Government state whether they have suggested or will suggest to Local Governments the initiation of schemes for the promotion of friendly relations between the Mohammedan and Hindu Communities at all the principal places in the Empire, and specially at those places where in late years friction has actually taken place or riots have occurred?

The answer to the question was given by Sir Antony MacDonnell[1] in the following terms:

> The duty of the Government is to preserve peace, to extend impartial toleration to all creeds, to maintain the lawful liberties of all its subjects, and to repress all persons or classes of persons who infringe such liberties or insult the religion or wound the religious feelings of others. The duty of moderating excitement raised by religious feeling and of promoting a desire for reconciliation in cases in which discord has arisen rests upon the leading members of the different religious bodies themselves. But the Government has endeavoured and as occasion offers, will endeavour, to interest the people in themselves coming to an amicable settlement of such disputes. With this object the Government has in the North-West Provinces and elsewhere favoured the appointment of committees of reconciliation for the settlement of religious differences, but the successful action of such committees rests, as may be inferred from what has already been said, with the leaders of the conflicting creeds or sects.

What is said here of religious differences applies with equal force to political differences. I do not know what has become of the committees the appointment of which was "favoured" by the Government of India so long ago as the year 1895. No information is available as to whether

[1]Sir Antony Patrick Mac Donnell, b. 1844; Home Secretary, Government of India, 1886-89; acting Lieutenant-Governor Bengal, 1893; Member of Governor General's Council, 1893-95; Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1895-1901; Chairman of Famine Commission, 1901; author of Indian Famine Code, 1902; Under Secretary of State for Ireland, 1902-08; Member Irish convention, 1917-18; d. 1925.

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these committees were ever formed, and if so, what was the work done by them. What is certain is that no such committees exist at the present moment. They are perhaps not now necessary for the amicable settlement of religious disputes, which happily have not been so frequent of late years as they used to be. But the appointment of similar committees or associations for the purpose of arriving at an understanding on political question of the day is a crying want. There need not be any thing separate and distinct from the local committees I have recommended in connection with this Conference. Hindu and Mohammedan leaders in every district should be invited to join these committees, and as a pledge of joint and harmonious action in things political, they must take a solemn vow that the followers of one will do nothing to hurt the religious susceptibilities of those of the other.

So far it is simple enough, but the difficulty begins when we come to consider the points of difference between the two classes. These relate mainly to (1) public services and (2) representation in Councils, Municipalities and District Boards. In order to secure an efficient public service it is evident that we must have the very best men that the service can attract, and the Hindus therefore ask the Government to admit only such men as by fair and open competition prove themselves to be the fittest. To this our Mohammedan friends have two objections: first, that competition is not in all cases a safe and convincing test, and second, that theirs being a backward community they cannot have an equal chance with the more advanced Hindus. As to the first objection I quite agree with my friends in thinking that all that is best in a man is not necessarily brought out by competition. But human ingenuity has so far failed to devise a better test. Competition is the only test adopted in England and most other western countries for first admission into all services. That is the test prescribed for admission into that greatest of all services in the world, the Civil Service of India, which has produced some of the most distinguished builders of the British Empire.

As to the second objection, I do not admit that my friends the Mohammedans are so backward in the march of progress as they imagine themselves to be. True they are not yet in a line with the Hindus in high education but they are coming up steadily, and have already given to the country some of its best administrators, judges, lawyers and reformers. In primary education both Hindus and Mohammedans are equally backward. The last census shows that out of every 10,000 of the Hindu and Mohammedan population, respectively, in these provinces there were only 297 Hindus and 282 Mohammedans in 1901, who were literate. The difference of 15 per 10,000 is not much to speak of. The real disparity is not in quality but in quantity. Out of every 10,000 of the entire population of these provinces in 1901, no less than 8,532 were Hindus while only 1,412 were Mohammedans, and the rest were followers of other religions including Jains, Sikhs, Aryas and Buddhists, who, though dissenters from orthodox Hinduism, are generally looked upon as Hindus. With such a disparity of numbers it is impossible to expect the same or nearly the same results of high education in both communities. My own belief is

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that as both communities continue to advance in education at the rate they are doing, the present ratio between the educated members of each will be very nearly maintained. This will be due only to the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Hindus over the Mohammedans, and not to any backwardness on the part of the latter. There is, therefore, no real ground for objection to the introduction of the competitive test on the score of backwardness. Our Mohammedan friends will never be more prepared for it than they are now, and the sooner they join the Hindus in asking the Government to do away with the system of nomination the better will it be for all concerned. Nomination, gentlemen, is only a euphemism. The plain English for it is favouritism and jobbery.

Public service is not after all the end and aim of national existence. It is past high time that both Hindus and Mohammedans turned their attention to openings other than those afforded by the public service. There are not enough posts in the gift of the Government to enable it to employ all the qualified men of either community even to the total exclusion of the other. A large majority of the young men of both communities must in any case look either to the over-crowded professions, or what is better to the openings offered by the vast resources of their own country, which unfortunately have so far been totally neglected. Employment under the Government is really not worth all the energy that is being bestowed on it. The Hindus can very well afford to make concessions to the Mohammedans if the two will meet together in an amicable spirit. Mutual concessions and sacrifices are the only means of bringing about a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. It is not impossible to have a competitive test and yet secure to each community not less than a certain proportion of offices. It is not impossible to devise means to lessen the stringency of the competitive test in the case of Mohammedans. What is wanted is that the leading Hindus and Mohammedans should meet together in a spirit of give and take. At such meetings Hindus must not insist on the ratio which their numbers bear to those of the Mohammedans; nor must the latter totally disregard the overwhelming numerical superiority of the former.

The demands of some of our Mohammedan friends in the matter of representation in Councils, etc., seems to be rather extravagant. They ask for Mohammedan electoral colleges and claim equal representation of the two communities in spite of the vast disparity in numbers. We all recognise the necessity and propriety of safeguarding the interest of minorities, but it would be subversive of all principles of representation if majorities were to be totally disregarded and sacrificed to minorities. It is needless for me to enter into a detailed discussion of the subject as it is impossible for us in this Conference to arrive at any understanding in the absence of those of our Mohammedan friends who have chosen to keep aloof from it. All I need say is that in this matter, as on the question of Public Service, it is easy enough to devise means to protect the interest of Mohammedans if only Hindus and Mohammedans will meet in a spirit of conciliation and mutual concession.

Gentlemen, I have so far trespassed upon your time and attention with

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what I may call matters of our own internal economy. I felt it was necessary to set our own house in order before launching out in quest of reforms from without.

You will have the privilege of hearing able speeches in support of the various resolutions which will be brought up before the Conference. I do not, therefore, propose to do more than briefly refer to some of the more important questions which we have to consider.

Before dealing with those questions however, it is our duty to gratefully acknowledge what has already been done by the Government for our benefit. Within the last few days important announcement has been made of the action already taken by the Government and that proposed to be taken in the near future. The salt tax has been further remitted and now stands at Re. 1 per maund, for which we are truly grateful. Let us hope that the next step will be the total abolition of this tax which while it exists will always press heavily on the poor.

Next comes the promulgation of a new scheme for famine relief. This consists of the creation of a permanent fund for each province liable to be affected, by providing a fixed annual grant up to a certain maximum, which will be credited to every such province and may be drawn upon by it in seasons of distress. Provision is also made to meet half the expenditure on this head from Imperial revenues if the accumulated fund to the credit of a particular province is exhausted by reason of a visitation of exceptional severity. The annual grant to these provinces is Rs. 4½ lakhs and the maximum prescribed is Rs. 30 lakhs. This is certainly an equitable arrangement, and a considerable improvement on the existing system, which often prove provincial Governments to the verge of insolvency; and we must be thankful for it. But benevolent as the arrangement is the remedy it prescribes is not sufficient. Something more has still to be done. What we are anxiously looking forward to is such relief in times of prosperity as would enable the people to be better prepared to face adversity when it comes, and this can only be achieved by lightening the burdens of the cultivator by a reasonably large reduction of the Government demand on land.

Again, there is the great educational reform which is about to be introduced. Lower Primary Education is to be made free throughout India. The first inkling of this reform was given by the Honourable Mr. Baker[1] in his Financial Statement laid before the Viceroy's Council on the 20th Instant. It was announced that, notwithstanding the absence of bulge provision for fee expenditure which the whole-sale abolition fees in Primary Schools would entail, the Secretary of State had given an assurance that he would be prepared to carry any amicable scheme into effect in the course of the year if it was financially practicable. The announcement was followed with commendable energy by a circular letter from the Government of India to all the local Governments and administrations, pointing out to them the desirability of proceeding *per saltum* in this matter and inviting

[1]Sir Edward Norman Baker, b. 1857; joined Bengal Civil Service, 1878; Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1898-1902; Finance Member, Governor-General's Council, 1905-08; Lieutenant-Governor Bengal, 1908-11; d. 1913.

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their opinions and suggestions. Strictly speaking the matter has not yet proceeded beyond the stage of proposal, but there can be little doubt that it will soon be an accomplished fact. This is certainly one of those reforms for which we should be deeply grateful to the present Liberal Government. Free education is second in importance only to education which is free as well as compulsory. When we find that in a country like England free education without first being made compulsory was not considered to be sufficient, we cannot expect the Indian masses to take kindly to it, of their own free will and without any compulsion from above. Having regard to the fact that the proposed scheme will apply only to existing schools which are by no means too numerous, it will not I venture to think make a very considerable difference in the expenditure involved if education is also made compulsory for boys and girls of a certain age inhabiting the villages where Primary Schools exist. This is of course the beginning of the reform. We have yet to see the scheme extended to areas where schools do not exist at present. We have yet to see education made compulsory to all classes throughout India. But, gentlemen, Rome was not built in a day and we must not be impatient.

Two other great and much-needed reforms are also known to be on the Government anvil. I mean the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils and the separation of the Executive from Judicial functions. We do not yet know what shape these will take, but the hysterics into which the Anglo-Indian Press, and some Anglo-Indian members of Parliament who sympathise with that press are working themselves over the proposed reform, is the surest indication that an important change for the better is near at hand in these directions. We know that the despatch of the Government of India on the question of reform in the Legislative Councils is already on its way to England. But we need not wait and watch for further developments. We must go on pressing over demands, the reasonableness of which may now be taken to be established beyond any doubt.

These are the more important reforms which have recently emanated from the Imperial Government. I must not omit to mention and thankfully acknowledge the efforts of our Provincial Government in the same direction. These consist chiefly of contributions towards the agricultural development scheme, the improvement of the mechanical class and the supply of machinery at the Roorkee College, the founding of a new chair of biology at the Muir College and the setting down of a sum of Rs. 25,000, for "meeting the cost of such measures as may be found possible" to assist the indigenous industries of the provinces. The Provincial Financial Statement was laid on the Council table only on Saturday last and comes up for discussion tomorrow. I do not propose to take the wind out of the sails of my friends who are on the Council by entering into a discussion of the various points raised by the Financial Statement. But I may be permitted to draw your attention to three more items of expenditure on improvements which appear to me to be somewhat remarkable.

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These items are:

Cost of a new train for H.H. the Lieutenant-Governor ...	...	Rs. 70,000
Extension of the Government House Garden at Lucknow...	...	Rs. 1,50,000
Improvements in the new Circuit house at Dehra ...	...	Rs. 75,000
	Total ...	Rs. 2,95,000

Compare this total of nearly Rs. 3 lakhs with the allotment of Rs. 25,000 for the industrial progress of 48 millions of people. While we must be thankful for small mercies we cannot help being struck by the contrast which these figures bring out so prominently. But these are not recurring charges and we must not grudge the Ruler of our Province a few expensive luxuries befitting his exalted position. Let us content ourselves with the hope that much larger sums than these will be forthcoming in the near future for the industrial advancement of the people and other necessary reforms.

I now pass on to the questions you have to consider which are very important and cover somewhat extensive ground. Provincial Finance, Local and Municipal Finance, Land Revenue, Education, Legislative Councils, the Public Services, the Administration of Justice, the Swadeshi movement, Constitution of the N.W.P. High Court at Allahabad and the Judicial Commissioner's Court at Lucknow, the *Begar* System, Irrigation, the Excise Administration, the sufferings of third class passengers on Railways, all claim your very serious attention. I have already referred to some of these in noticing the action recently taken by the Government. It will unduly prolong this address if I attempt to offer my remarks on each and every subject that will come up for discussion before you. I will therefore only say a few words on the question of Provincial Finance and Education which in these Provinces seem to me to be inseparably connected.

Introduction of reforms in any direction is largely a question of ways and means. However necessary a particular reform may be, you cannot initiate it if the funds at your disposal will not permit the expenditure required. Provincial Governments have under the present contract system to make the two ends meet with such share of their own revenues as the Government of India choose to allot to them. Now the way in which these provinces have been treated by the Government of India in this matter is little short of a public scandal. We contribute the largest share to the Imperial revenues and receive stinted grants in return which are utterly inadequate for our growing needs.

The result of the scanty allowance is that we cannot march with the times in Education, Sanitation, Local Self-Government and other departments of domestic administration. We have had the fullest sympathy of the Local Government and the various heads of departments in these provinces at the unfair treatment accorded to us by the Government of

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India. They have from time to time pleaded our cause strenuously though without success, while we have all this time been patiently submitting to the existing state of things without a word of protest. Even the *Pioneer* in noticing the subsidy given by the Government of India to the Government of the United Provinces to cover the cost of famine relief is compelled to say:

"The Government of India has been moved to show a little consideration to the distressful Provinces which are a model of orderly government and which have been milked in the past with a grim remorselessness which is too often the lot of patient merit."

The first and the foremost care of the Government of a civilized country is to provide proper means for sanitation and education so essential to the physical and intellectual existence of the people. And yet in these very matters we lag far behind not only other countries but even the other provinces in India for want of necessary funds. If any thing is yet known with any certainty about plague it is the fact that it visits localities the sanitary condition of which is not at all that could be desired; and yet Local and Municipal bodies have hitherto been left severely alone to contend with the epidemic by adopting such measures as their limited means would permit. The result is the terrible rise year after year in the figures showing the ravages of the fell disease to which we are now getting accustomed.

In educational matters you have had a stout champion of your cause in the late Director of Public Instruction, Mr. T.G. Lewis. As long as 1901-02 he enumerated in his annual report what he then considered to be the most urgent education needs of the provinces. To carry out the reforms and advances, recommended by him, Mr. Lewis estimated an additional 20 lakhs a year, and pointed out that even this increase would only bring the total expenditure from public funds on education, including university, professional, technical, general, primary and secondary instruction, with the outlay in buildings and all the cost of direction to 1½ d per head of the population per annum. This scale of expenditure is already exceeded in most, if not all, of the other provinces, but the Government could not see its way to sanction it for the province which pays more and receives less than any other.

Returning to the subject three years later in his report for 1905, Mr. Lewis again says:—

> I have felt it my duty to invite the attention of the Government again and again to what has struck me as the prime cause of all shortcomings; the root of the evil unquestionably is the utter inadequacy of the Educational allotments and their smallness in comparison with sums spent on the same objects in other parts of India . . . . My proposition expressed in general terms is no longer regarded as a matter for controversy. But one thing is clear, and that is that the true state of affairs is not yet fully grasped . . . . Of all the large divisions of India the United Provinces remain the least favoured, receiving only Rs. 80 per thousand of the population for expenditure on education. At the other

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end of the scale stands Bombay which finds Rs. 245 per thousand of the population for the same purpose.

This was the state of things two years ago. Mr. Lewis proceeds:

> To remove the inequality and to raise the United Provinces up to the Bombay standard of liberality we need to increase our public expenditure on education from 30 lakhs to 117 lakhs.

After pointing out this manifestly unjust inequality, Mr. Lewis continues:

> If these figures are true it will not do to put them aside because they are startling. It will be necessary to consider them, to become familiar with them, to acknowledge their irresistible logic, to take action to redress any existing inequitable inequalities that may have to be admitted when every possible allowance has been made for circumstances that may justly be held to modify the case. . . . The acknowledged educational needs of India cannot be said to be satisfactorily met so long as the excessive deficiencies of the province which stands second of all the provinces of the Indian Empire in size and population remain unnoticed and unremedied.

A year later in his last report before retiring Mr. Lewis again returns to the charge and gives us the following summary of the actual situation:

> The lapse of eight years had left the United Provinces where it was at the beginning, still at the bottom of the list, save for the small and, newly created North West Frontier Provinces and even that, in its initial stage of existence, nearly as well off. It is true that during the interval the public expenditure per thousand of the population increased from Rs. 44 to Rs. 80. . . but in Bombay which heads the list the corresponding increase was from Rs. 188 to Rs. 245.

In the face of these facts and figures it cannot be denied that our provinces are most unfairly treated. It is high time that steps were taken to remedy this crying injustice, both by the action of the Local Government and that of the Government of India. Our contract with the latter must be so altered at the next revision which is to take place in the course of the year, as to provide greatly increased funds for educational purpose.

It seems to me that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Lewis—a debt not as yet properly and generally recognized among us for the brave and manful way in which he constantly and insistently forced these facts upon the notice of the Government, and pleaded for something like justice to be done to our province in the allotment of funds for education. Mr. Lewis concludes the discussion of this subject in his last report thus:— "I have felt it incumbent upon me to deliver my conscience and say one last word before I go, in the interest of the people among whom it has been my fortune to serve, and whose claims appear to have been inadvertently overlooked."

Would that the conscience of those who have the control of the purse strings were stirred in sympathy with the retired Director of Public Instruction.

On the subject of free education I have already referred to the letter of the Government of India addressed to the Local Governments. The

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movement in favour of free education is growing and spreading very rapidly. As Mr. Lewis has pointed out the total income from fees charged in primary schools is insignificant. It was only Rs. 58,431 in 1905-06 and as the fee rates are substantially higher in the upper primary classes, it is probable that Rs. 30,000 would cover the receipts from the lower primary classes in which no less than 7/8ths of the pupils are found. It would therefore cost Government an absolutely insignificant amount to enable District Boards to make lower primary education free every where, and a trifle more to make primary education both lower and higher free throughout our provinces. Seeing how small is the cost in proportion to the enormous impetus it would give to education as a whole, we must urge upon the Local Government the imperative duty of cordially welcoming and supporting the move made by the Government of India in this direction. As to making primary education compulsory in selected areas it is our plain duty to make it quite clear to the Government that public opinion in these provinces is not only ripe for such a step but actually and earnestly demands that it should be speedily taken.

Let us now see how we stand in regard to female education. In reviewing Mr. Lewis' Report for 1901-02 in which he had urged that the funds allotted to female education in these provinces were, exactly as in regard to boys, altogether disproportionately less than in other provinces, the Government attempted to defend itself by remarking:

"The Director argues that there is less expenditure on female education in this than the other provinces, but money cannot be spent if there is no manner of spending it that will produce the desired result."

Whatever may have been true in this remark when it was made in 1902, it is certainly not true today, as Mr. Lewis abundantly shows in his report for 1906. On the contrary as he observes, there are now ways of spending considerable sums of money to good purpose in promoting female education.

There can be no doubt, and indeed our Local Government has fully acknowledged the fact, that the admirable report of the special committee under the presidency of Rai Bahadur G.N. Chakravarti, appointed to advise the Government on the most effective methods of extending female education in these provinces, shows not only that there is a rapidly growing demand for female education, but also indicates well considered and effective ways of promoting it, and constitutes a most useful outline of the methods that ought to be adopted. To carry out the actual recommendations of the Committee in their entirety would, Mr. Lewis states, have demanded an additional charge of fully 6 lakhs a year, a sum by no means excessive for the object in view. But as such an outlay seemed beyond the resources of the Government, Mr. Lewis prepared a reduced and modified scheme which would have cost only half that amount, viz., three lakhs a year. But even that was too much, and the Government had to announce with regret that there were no funds at all available to make any additional allotment in the following year.

Here again we meet this miserable policy of starving education in these provinces, which has been so often exposed and as often condemned. It is

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largely, no doubt the fault of the hard terms of our contract with the Government of India—and as I have already said, we must press for revision of these on lines more just and equitable to our population and our taxation but our Local Government must also share in the blame. It is our duty to press this matter home to our rulers in every way and by every means in our power. Without additional funds nothing can be done either for general or for female education. As regards the latter, our Government is already committed to a sympathetic attitude; it remains for us to bring enough pressure to bear upon it to transform empty sympathy into an open purse, and rouse the Government to carry into effect, at the very least, the reduced and modified scheme for the promotion of female education prepared by the late Director on the lines laid down by one of the most able and influential committees which have ever dealt with this question.

Lastly, we must not forget that our direct share in this good work is large and immediate. It is our task, first, to stimulate public feeling interest, and second, to give to Government that active and sympathetic help without which it is impossible for the question of educating our women, a question so vitally important for our motherland, to be satisfactorily solved.

The subject of technical education and training in India seems to me to be one of the most vitally important topics that can engage the attention of this Conference. Its importance lies not only in its intimate bearing upon the commercial and material prosperity of our country, but quite as much, if not more, in what I believe to be its enormous significance for our whole national life. For so long as our rising generations, especially those of the upper and more intelligent classes grow up to look to Government service as their chief and most desirable means of livelihood, with only the law, and in a less degree medicine as possible alternatives, so long does it seem impossible for a true spirit of independence and self-reliance to be developed in these most important sections of our community. If our young men continue to look for their bread and butter to service under Government, it is obvious that all their lives they will continue dependent upon others, looking to those above them in the official hierarchy for favours, for promotions, for their very bread; and hence unable to stand on their own feet, unable to act or operate freely, unable, in a word to be free and independent. And remember that this state of things will continue however large the number of posts, and however exalted those held by Indians may be. So long as our educated classes are in these shackles, so long can no real national life flourish and no independence of attitude and feeling be achieved. Moreover in all modern states, the real effective power and influence tends with every day to pass more and more away from those classes, who seek after Government appointments, and to fall into the hands of the classes who look for no favours from superiors or even from the Government but stand, strongly and squarely, upon their own feet, relying on their own skill and energy for their livelihood and position. But such a class can be formed only from land-holders and from men engaged in commercial and

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industrial pursuits; and in all these, technical education and training are of the first and paramount importance, since the days are long gone by when rule of thumb and untrained intelligence sufficed to cope with the conditions of industrial success.

It is, therefore, specially important for us, as a conference to leave no stone unturned to obtain every possible opportunity and assistance for the youngmen who will follow us in life, to qualify themselves to fill up this great gap in our national life. It seems to me of supreme importance for the future of our motherland that this should be clearly and fully realised by each one of us. It is useless shutting our eyes to the facts, or imagining that we can build up a nation from men who are of necessity ever looking to an official hierarchy for what they need or desire.

Fortunately the Government has evinced a desire to move in this direction, and by establishing the new technical classes at the Roorkee College and keeping up an industrial school at Lucknow, it has already given proof of the reality and sincerity of its desire to help us along this road. But it is we who must tread that road, we who must enable the efforts of Government to bear good fruit, we who by our earnest sympathy and our active help in educating public opinion must give life to the movement and supply the force necessary to make it live and prosper.

We must, therefore, set before ourselves an immediate and practical aim, and ask for a fully equipped technical institute to be established in these provinces, and at least one technical school in each division. This is not much to ask and we cannot be contented with less. And if our Government pleads lack of funds we must point out again and again how very meagrely, compared with other provinces, the United Provinces are served in respect of education, and press our just and reasonable claims unceasingly on the attention of Government.

Gentlemen, I am afraid I have now taxed your patience to its utmost limit. But I crave your indulgence to allow me to say one word more before I resume my seat. The work before us is neither more nor less than that of building ourselves into a nation which shall take its proper place among the great nations of the world. This is more easily said than done. It implies the building of a national character, the sinking of all differences between individuals and classes where the good or the honour of the country is at stake, the building of a common platform where all races and religions may meet without difference of opinion. In a word it means the social, political, and industrial development of the country.

The question then arises what progress have we made in this work of nation building? My own answer to the question is that very little has so far been done. But I am more particularly concerned at present with two answers to the same question other than mine. These are diametrically opposed to each other and go to opposite extremes. While on the one hand our Anglo-Indian friends maintain that nothing at all has been done, and that there are not even the germs of nationality to be perceived anywhere in Indian life; some of our Indian friends on the other hand act in a way so as to lead us to believe that the work is nearly done. To my mind both these views are as utterly absurd as they are mischievous.

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To my Anglo-Indian friends I say that if you only open your eyes you will not fail to notice that there are forces at work which require only marshalling and directing to produce and present to the world, in the fullness of time, a great and glorious nation. True the masses are ignorant, and there is a diversity of religions and races in every province of India. But it is idle to contend that there is not in every city and township even of our own backward provinces, an ever increasing number of men of all religions and races fully imbued with the national spirit, and quite capable under favourable conditions of leavening the whole mass of the population. To my Indian friends of the new school I say that while an impartial observer will recognize the existence of these forces, he will be bound to confess that they do not by themselves go to constitute a nation. To the great English people I say that these forces which are steadily yet surely working out the salvation of India are of your own creation. You have not only created them but you have allowed them together such strength and volume that you have put it beyond your own power to arrest or check them. In all gratitude we acknowledge that England has so far fed us with the best food that her language, her literature, her science and art, and above all her free institutions could supply. We have lived and grown on that wholesome food for a century and are fast approaching the full age of maturity.

We have outgrown the baby garments supplied to us by England and naturally demand not only manlier garments but a freer scope for our increasing activities in the very spheres of knowledge in which we have been brought up. Let the present liberal Government take note of a warning given thirty years ago by a conservative Viceroy. In the course of a remarkable speech in the Council Chamber Lord Lytton[1] said:

> The Government of India is an eminently conservative Government and I trust that it will ever continue to be so; but to repeat an aphorism, the soundness of which is proved by the staleness of it, improvements really required by change of circumstances are the best foundation for a conservative policy and in no way opposed to it. No administration is really conservative unless its policy be vigilantly, though cautiously, remedial. Timely remedy from above is the only sure prevention of violent revolution from below. Destiny is a fair player, and never checkmates a nation, a Government or a class without crying check. It is the interest as well as the duty of those concerned to heed that warning and shift their pieces accordingly. In politics, as in all things else the survival of the fittest is an inexorable law, and those institutions which cannot or will not, spontaneously adapt themselves to the organic growth of the circumstances to which their functions were originally fitted, are doomed, by the salutary order of the Universe to a premature extinction

Gentlemen, destiny has so far played a fair game all round. It has gradually brought about the 'change of circumstances' referred to by

[1]Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Ist Earl, b. 1831; Viceroy of India, 1876-80; was made Earl of Lytton in 1880; British Ambassador to Paris 1887-91; d. 1891.

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Lord Lytton, and it demands improvements required by that change. It has cried check to the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy which moves too slowly to adapt itself to the 'organic growth of the circumstances'. It has cried check to that class of our countrymen who try to move faster than the 'organic growth of the circumstances' would justify. Let both heed the timely warning and "shift their pieces accordingly".

Let neither attempt to avert or delay the consummation of the glorious work of Destiny and with it the realization of the prophetic inspiration of Macaulay[1] contained in the memorable words:

> Whenever the day comes it will be the proudest day in English History. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depth of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own.

That proudest day in English History, when a glory all its own well be the just heritage of the British race, is no longer a dream. Destiny has for years been bringing us nearer and nearer to that day. Let not the Bureaucracy shut their eyes to the glorious dawn that is just beginning to break. Let not our countrymen mistake the glory of that dawn for the grandeur of noon-day sun. Let both unite to dispel all passing clouds from the horizon. Let both "Bow down and hail the coming morn".

119. Letter to the Editor, November 22, 1907.[2]

Sir,—The recent pronouncements of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces at the Durbar held in Allahabad go to show that there is considerable misapprehension in official circles as to the attitude adopted by the leading members of the educated Indian community of Allahabad in reference to certain incidents which happened in this city some months ago. As I cannot reach the class of people I wish particularly to address myself to except through your columns, I beg the favour of your allowing me space in an early issue of your paper to lay the facts as they happened before the public. In the course of his speech referred to above His Honour is reported to have said:

> But the city of Allahabad was invaded in the early part of the year by a number of irresponsible politicians who had no concern with and no interest in these provinces, and whose sole object appears to have been to inflame the residents of your town with feelings of hostility to

[1]Thomas Babington, Ist Baron Macaulay, b. 1800; eminent British author, essayist, historian, Parliamentarian, a Benthanite Liberal; associated with the renewal of the East India Company's Charter of 1833; Law Member of the Indian Supreme Council, 1834-38. His famous *Minute* on education advocating the promotion of Western knowledge through English language became the basis of future educational policy of the Government of India; responsible for the codification of law which ultimately resulted in the formation of the Indian Penal Code 1860; M.P. for Edinburgh, 1839-47, 1852-56; elected Lord Rector Glasgow University, 1849; War Secretary, British Cabinet, 1839-41; d. 1859.

[2]"Letter to the Editor," 22 November 1907, entitled "Allahabad Leaders and Political Agitation" *The Pioneer*, 28 November 1907, pp. 8-9.

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the Government. I do not believe for a moment that they obtained any sympathy from the citizens of Allahabad. But how many people came forward to disavow them and their proceedings? Very few I am afraid. Yet their cowardly method of endeavouring to pervert the mind and excite the passions of the students of Allahabad had very evil effects on the youth of what is not only the capital of the provinces, but also its university town. I cannot help thinking that, had voice been given to the opinion which did, I believe, condemn the methods adopted by those men and had their proceedings been denounced in public by some of the sober and respected leaders of your community, much of the harm done to your boys might have been prevented.

I am not concerned with the character of the politicians referred to by His Honour or the motives which may or may not have actuated to "invade the holy city of Pryag," what I am interested in is the statement that their views "did not obtain sympathy from the citizens of Allahabad" and I take the opportunity of thanking His Honour for the gracious acknowledgement of that important fact. The charge I have to meet, however, is not of "disloyalty", but of a want of "active loyalty" in the "sober and respected leaders of the community". Now it is not very clear whom His Honour had in mind when he spoke of the "sober and respected leaders of your community"; but he could hardly have meant the so-called "natural leaders", who it is well-known are not in touch with the students of the schools and colleges of this, or for the matter of fact any other, "University town". I take it, therefore, that the persons referred to are those who are respected by the students and whose word carry weight with them. What these men did was not their business to advertise, nor perhaps that of the Secret Police to report, but in view of what has fallen from His Honour it has now become necessary to inform the public fully on the subject. The facts are these. The first "attack" on the good citizens of Allahabad was delivered from the South by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the well-known extremist leader of Poona. He addressed the students and did some harm to them, but the mischief was confined to a very limited number, and found expressions in a few silly speeches made by some at the *Magh Mela* to miscellaneous and indifferent audiences. Then came the redoubtable Mr. Bepin Chander Pal [sic] from the east with his gospel of anarchy. "Better anarchy without the British Government than the present peace and plenty with it" was the text he preached. The view of Messrs Tilak and Pal were very well-known, and not one of the residents of Allahabad or any note who was then known to interest himself in public affairs held out any encouragement to them. A correspondent of yours describing Mr. Pal's meeting said: "the leaders were conspicuous by their absence". They were, however, not idle. The students were not allowed to assimilate the passion administered to them by the apostle of anarchy, and were treated immediately after to large doses of the most potent antidote that could be imagined. Before Mr. Pal could boast of any converts to his faith, we found in our midst no less an exponent of moderate views than the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who delivered a series of three lectures dealing with the whole political situation in the usual masterly manner

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to crowded audiences which included almost the whole of the student population of Allahabad. I had the honour of presiding at the first of these lectures, the subject of which was "the work before us". The greater part of the speech is reported in the *Indian People* of the 7th February last; and will amply repay perusal. I give below a few important extracts which will speak for themselves.

> The goal of self-government within the Empire involved a minimum disturbance of existing ideas, and it meant proceeding along lines which they understood, however difficult the progress might be; such a goal, moreover, enlisted on their side all that was high-minded, freedom-loving, honourable in England, and there was much in that country that was high-minded, freedom-loving and honourable. Despite occasional lapses, and some of the most lamentable lapses, despite prolonged reactions, inevitable in human affairs, the genius of the British people, as revealed in history, on the whole made for political freedom, for constitutional liberty. It would be madness, it would be folly on their part to throw away in the struggle that lay before them enormous advantages.

Mr. Gokhale proceeded to consider the means by which the goal was to be reached. He could, he said, point out no royal road. A vast amount for work in various fields was necessary, but one thing they must be clear about, and that was that the goal being what it was their reliance must be on what was called constitutional agitation. The question had often been asked what was constitutional agitation. He would attempt to frame an answer to that question. Constitutional agitation, by methods which they were entitled to adopt, to bring about the changes they desired through the action of constituted authorities. But the idea that they should leave the authorities severely alone and seek to attain their goal independently of them was inadmissible and absurd.

> Political privileges could not be held for the mere asking and they had cost other people prolonged struggles. The more interest of their struggle would be entirely missed, if they judged of the value of their efforts by tangible immediate results. The way some of his friends spoke of their disappointments made him almost wish that the few liberties that they enjoyed had not come to them as the spontaneous gift of the far-sighted statesmen, but had to be struggled for and won by their exertions.

The subject of the second lecture was 'Swadeshi'. It was presided over by Ramananda Chatterjee, late Principal of the Kayasth Pathshala and a gentleman held in high esteem, especially in the student world. It is a pity that this lecture was never reported, but the extracts I have given from the first lecture will convey a fair idea of the general trend of the second. "A few words to the students" was the subject of the third lecture, and the students did indeed muster strong to listen to it. It was presided over, as the fitness of things demanded, by the Hon. Pandit Sundarlal, the unofficial Vice-Chancellor of our University. It is a thousand pities that this speech also was not reported, but no one who had the good fortune to be present is likely to forget the thrilling appeal made to the students

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to serve the best interests of their country by confining themselves to their proper function of acquiring and assimilating knowledge and giving due respect to their teachers, to the men who were the recognised leaders of their society, and above all to constituted authority.

Shortly after Mr. Gokhale had delivered the message of peace and goodwill to the residents of Allahabad and proceeded up-country on a like errand, we were "invaded" by one Mr. Haider Raza[1], a gentleman hailing from the West, and reputed to possess considerable powers of persuasive speech. He tried his best to undo the good work done by Mr. Gokhale, and did attain a measure of success. He held what was described at the time as mass meetings in the limited space afforded by the Railway Theatre hall. Those who had seen their wild theories demolished by the practical commonsense of Mr. Gokhale's powerful addresses once again began to waver. They tried to play the same game with the United Provinces Conference, which was shortly to hold its first sitting at Allahabad, as has recently been played with the Indian National Congress at Nagpur. But they had tough customers to deal with here, and found themselves quickly ignored, and all their tall talk and idle threats completely unheeded.

It was at this juncture that our fourth and last visitor came from the North. He was no other man than Lala Lajpat Rai, over the recent release of whom the whole country is now rejoicing. But for the initial mistake made by him in coming here at the invitation of the students without reference to any of those whom he himself recognised as the local leaders and fellow workers in the same cause he would certainly have been received with all the honour due to him for his devotion to his country, the purity of his life and the sincerity of his opinions, however much one may differ from them—an honour to which his recent deportation has only enhanced his claims a thousand fold in the eyes of every educated Indian, be he a moderate or extremist or neither. But where principles are involved persons, however great, do not count. We had accepted the principle that students were to be allowed no active part in politics. Lala Lajpat Rai, however, in accepting the invitation of the students, seemed to us to have departed from that principle, and therefore we kept aloof. He delivered several addresses to the students, at which, to quote your correspondent's words, "the leaders were conspicuous by their absence". He spoke in Hindustani, but I have not seen any report of his speeches anywhere. It is, therefore, not for me to say what attitude he recommended to the students to adopt in reference to politics in general, but I was informed that the advice he gave them as to their behaviour to the leaders of their community and the Conference they were about to hold was excellent. The result was that behaviour of the students during the session of the conference was all that could be desired. Lastly, came the Conference itself, at which I had the honour to preside. In the course of my address I dealt with the new propaganda at some length and tried to the best of my ability to disabuse the public mind of the mischievous teachings of our

[1]Punjabi Publicist, taught at Delhi College, an associate of Lajpat Rai.

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"invaders". The full text of my address was published in the *Indian People* of Allahabad, the *Advocate* of Lucknow, and many other Indian papers in different parts of the country.

An *Urdu* translation of it was distributed widely and published in many vernacular papers. I would beg your indulgence only to quote the following passages which bear more or less on the remarks made by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor:

> I have so far endeavoured to show that the boycott movement even in the mildest form—a form in which it has been approved for Bengal by the last two Congresses—is entirely unsuited to these provinces. Our extremist friends, however, preach a boycott of the most sweeping character. They are not content with the boycott of British goods. They would have nothing to do with anything British, including British institutions. They would have you make the Government of the country impossible. They talk of 'passive resistance', that charming expression which means so little and suggest so much. But in asking you to sever your connection with the Government they recognise the importance of discretion as the better part of valour, and confine themselves to your giving up honorary offices which carry no emoluments with them. It is difficult to see why the question of filthy lucre should at all weigh with us in carrying out a patriotic duty, but our friends are too keenly alive to a sense of the ludicrous to push their propaganda to its logical outcome. One gentleman goes to the length of saying that he would prefer "anarchy with plenty" to "peace with poverty". "Anarchy with plenty" is indeed an original idea. Perhaps the man of plenty meant by the gentleman is the free-booter and the cut-throat. These and similar statements, owing to their inherent absurdity, carry their over reputation with them. The only wonder is that they should be seriously made. I for one tremble to think of the condition of things which would prevail if all our Government and aided schools and colleges were to be closed, all Municipal and District Boards to be abolished, and the elected elements of the Legislative Councils done away with. Where shall we then be? The answer is plain enough. Nowhere.
>
> Take a mighty resolve that India 'shall suffer wrong no more', and devote all your energies to acquire the strength and the ability to protect the Motherland from insult and injury. This strength and ability must come from within, as great sacrifice and in the fullness of time. It does not consist in an important defiance of constituted authority. A respectful attitude towards the Government of the country is not only not inconsistent with manliness, but is the very essence of the true and healthy manhood of nations. While on the one hand you have grievances and wrongs that cry loudly for redress, you must not forget that you enjoy, on the other hand, many great blessings under the aegis of British rule, not the least of which is the right you are at this moment exercising of assembling in public meeting to criticise that rule itself. In all gratitude we must acknowledge the rights and privileges conferred in the past and with all the strength that the justice and righteousness of our cause inspires in us we must ask for more.

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We are constitutional agitators and the reforms we wish to bring about must come through the medium of constituted authority. We are thus directly concerned with the Government. Now the least that the Government, which is after all human, will expect of you will be to use temperate and respectable language, your speech should not be marred by excess nor your demands by extravagance, strong language is the surest indication of a weak case, and should by no means be indulged in. You must make it possible for the Government to sympathise with your aims and aspirations and you cannot do so unless you sympathise with the Government with the difficulties which it has to contend against. You may take it that the Government is not a bed of roses to sleep on. It has its own troubles and difficulties, and it expects you to realise those troubles and difficulties as much as you expect to feel for yours.

It must be borne in mind that all that I have described above was said and done long before the public had any idea of the deportations made in May last and the repressive measures that the Government has since adopted. I have merely stated the facts with only such opinions as were necessary to introduce other facts. It is for the public to judge how far the charge of indifference and inactivity is sustainable against the leaders of the educated community of Allahabad. If the charge cannot be met except by forming a deputation to wait at the Government House with a gushing address of loyalty the Government can easily add another "potent" measure to those recently placed on the Statute Book to amend the existing law relating to legal presumptions. As law-abiding citizens the members of the educated community will then submit to the inevitable, and be the first to come forward with a sincere assurance that they are not only disloyal, but have also committed no other offence against the criminal law of the land.

MOTILAL NEHRU

Anand Bhawan, 22 November [1907]

120. Speech at the Third United Provinces Social Conference in Agra, April 18, 1909.[1]

Gentlemen,

I must begin by thanking you for the high honour you have conferred upon me. But gratefully as I appreciate your kindness, I am afraid I cannot wholly congratulate myself on being selected to preside on this occasion. As I stand before you in this beautiful and historic city of yours, abounding in magnificent monuments of a glorious past, I feel more like

[1]Speech delivered as President of the Third United Provinces Social Conference held at Agra in April 1909. The speech was published in *The Indian Social Reformer*, 18 April 1909, 25 April 1909 & 2 May 1909.

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an object of pity than envy. For was it not here that the greatest of the Mughal Emperors over 300 years ago engaged himself in "nightly debates in council and silent meditations in the loneliness of early dawn" on the very problems we have met to discuss? Was it not here that refusing to recognise the artificial barriers of caste, creed and colour, the great Akbar strove, and did not strive in vain, to bring what is now called the "congeries of races, nationalities and creeds widely differing *inter se* in a variety of ways" under the "umbrella of civilization"? Yes, it was here that in the forcible language of the gifted biographer of the mighty monarch "pious, simpletons and fanatics who lusted for blood but looked like men" were made to ' shake off the prejudice of their education, break the threads of the webs of religious blindness, and see the glory of harmoniousness." The same immortal writer, reflecting the views of his august master, asks:

"Have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground? Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty which beams forth from so many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet which God has spread and beautiful the colours which he has given it."

Nobler sentiment than this and more beautifully expressed, it is impossible to conceive. But it was not merely nobility of sentiment and beauty of expression that characterised the reign of this large-hearted and single-minded sovereign. He meant all he said and did all he meant. It was in these halycon days of India that the followers of the Koran extended their hand of fellowship to the votaries of the Vedas. We have the convincing evidence of unimpeachable historical facts that the process of the fusion of races and sub-races begun by Akbar, was considerably advanced in his own lifetime. That deadly enemy of all social reform, the pernicious system of caste, tottered to its very foundation before the enlightened conceptions and noble ideals of his Din-e-Ilahi.[1] Marriage before puberty was strictly prohibited, and re-marriage of widows highly commended. Other reforms, too numerous to relate, were earnestly taken in hand and vigorously pushed forward. Three hundred years have since rolled by, but where are we? As the train which brought me here steamed past the noble pile of buildings adjoining the Agra Fort Station, I was forcibly reminded of what there was behind those silent walls. There were the Dewan-i-Khas and the Dewan-i-Am, there were the scenes of the "nightly debates" and the "silent meditations" of which I have spoken. Those smouldering, yet living walls seemed to mock at me and say, "You miserable handful of mortal clay, how dare you trespass on this land of immortals and venture to talk of questions which were solved for you three centuries ago but by the solution of which you have failed to profit."

Now, gentlemen, who can deny the truth and the perfect justice of the accusation? It is true that the healthy influences of progress set on foot by the genius of Akbar received a rude check during the reign of his own

[1]A set of religious doctrines, based on religious toleration, derived from different religions, was promulgated by Akbar in 1582.

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great-grandson. It is true that we are not responsible for the fanatical bigotry which, only half a century after the death of Akbar, reigned supreme in this unfortunate land, and not only made all progress impossible, but sowed the seeds of dismemberment in the palmiest day of the Empire itself. I grant you that the period of insecurity that followed the death of Aurangzeb[1] was not congenial to advancement of any kind; but what about the century or more of *Pax Britanica*, under the aegis of which we have enjoyed every facility for social reform. No new Din-e-Ilahi has indeed been promulgated but religious toleration, security of life and property, and above all the absolute equality of man and man, at least in the eve of the law, have for more than 100 years been firmly established. Individual effort and united action have had the fullest and freest scope. But what have we achieved? The canker-worm of caste is still eating into our vitals. The purdah system and the backward state of female education, still disgrace our social organisation. Child-marriages are the order of the day, and though some widows have recently been re-married—thanks to the Brahmo[2] and Arya Samajes[3] and various widow re-marriage associations—there are still thousands upon thousands of helpless, friendless, forlorn widows doomed to lives of perpetual misery.

Social reform has no doubt claimed our attention from time to time, and there is now a vast amount of literature on the subject comprising the thoughtful utterances of some of the greatest Indians of our time. Indeed, so far as discussion goes, the various subjects which group together under the comprehensive head of social reform have been so thoroughly thrashed out, that little remains to be said to convince the most orthodox stickler after established custom and usage, of the pressing need for a change. A study of this literature will show that controversy has so far raged not so much upon the nature as the extent of the necessary change, and the manner in which it is to be introduced. Opinions

[1]Alamgir literally means "Conqueror of the World". Aurangzeb was the last of the great Mughal emperors after whose death in 1707 the Mughal empire disintegrated. Aurangzeb ruled between 1658 and 1707.

[2]Brahmo Samaj was founded by Raja Rammohun Roy in 1828. It led a socio-religious movement in the country and called for reform in Hindu social and religious customs and rites. It believed in one God, omnipotent, omnipresent and formless; opposed idolatry and appealed to public charity, piety, benevolence, strengthening the bonds of union between men of different religions, persuasions, castes and creeds. The Samaj strove to break the caste barriers, launched a movement for the prohibition of Sati, child marriage and advocated education of women, and widow-remarriage. It was a powerful movement which set in motion forces of reform ushering in an era of renaissance in India.

[3]The Arya Samaj was founded in 1875 in Bombay by Swami Dayanand Saraswati who sought to purify Hinduism and launched a crusade against social evils among Hindus. Belief in one God and the infallibility of the Vedas were the main tenets of the Samaj. It soon became a force among Hindus. It advocated social and educational reform, abolition of caste and uplift of women. At once puritanic, reformist, and militant in its ideals and preachings, it appealed both to the rationalistic ethic of some educated Hindus as well as to the uneducated. By advocating *shuddhi*, it came in conflict with the Muslims and the relations between the two communities got estranged.

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also differ as to the relative importance of the different branches of social reform, and of social reform generally when considered with political reform. National Social Conferences have, of late years, been held in conjunction with the Indian National Congress, and numerous caste and class Conferences have been organised on the same lines throughout India. These have, in their own spheres, done very good work, but without in any way attempting to minimise the importance of these bodies, of the honest and patriotic endeavours of those who took part in them. I venture to submit that the output of actual reform, as distinguished from mere talk, has been very small indeed. The reason of this is to be found in the initial mistake of under-rating the value of social reform, and assigning it a place lower than that of political reform. I know I am here treading upon delicate ground, but unfortunately for me my convictions in this respect are so strongly and deeply laid that I must, with due deference, take this opportunity of recording my entire dissent from some of the most eminent thinkers our country has produced. The other day I was reading a speech of that great pioneer of Indian Reform, the late Mr. Justice Ranade,[1] a truer and nobler son of India than whom has never lived. Imagine my surprise and disappointment when I came upon the following passage:

"These reforms have all been initiated and carried out during the past seven years or more by the same earnestness of spirit which, working on a lower sphere, makes this Conference necessary and possible from year to year as an humble sister of the National Congress."

It is not quite clear why the work of social reform should be put on a lower sphere than any other work, but what I respectfully, and at the same time strongly, take exception to is the description of Social Conference as "an humble sister of the National Congress." Social reform in my humble opinion is the much-despised parent of political reform and not merely its humble sister. It is impossible for any community of men, however large and influential it may be, to obtain political emancipation before it has attained that height of social elevation which compels the respect of the best ordered, highly civilized and self-respecting communities of the time. Our great ambition is to build a United Indian Nation. Can we expect to achieve that ambition by obtaining political concession alone? Suppose all the seats in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and those of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, when they come into existence, as we hope and trust they soon will, were occupied by Indians—suppose all the members of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils were the elected representatives of the people—let us go even further ahead and suppose that we attained the goal of our aspirations, the colonial form of self-government—would all that, without purging the

[1]Mahadev Govind Ranade, b. 1842; scholar, author, Judge, Bombay High Court 1893; actively associated with the Bombay Prarthana Samaj which was in essence a counterpart of Brahmo Samaj in Bombay; and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which he established at Nasik; Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1885; a strong protagonist of Hindu social reform; was associated with the National Social Conference, 1887-1901; d. 1901.

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many social diseases that your body-politic suffers from, convert you into a United Indian Nation? It is no use arguing that we have enough men of light and leading amongst us who would adorn the Councils of any Empire. There have always been, and will always be, men in this country whose towering intellect and irresistible force of character will command the admiration and respect of all ages to come, as they have undoubtedly commanded the admiration and respect of ages that have gone by. The existence of a handful of such men among hundreds of millions of ignorant and superstitious masses never did and never will make a nation in the true sense of the word. There is no process of legislation or diplomacy by which these millions, with all their diversities of caste and creed, could be fused into a harmonious whole. And before they are so fused together there can be no Indian Nation. I have assumed a state of society with its members possessing the fullest possible political privileges, and shown that the mere possession of those privileges cannot bring us any nearer to the realization of our ideal than we are at present. Now, let us assume the converse case—a society adorned with every desirable social and moral virtue. Imagine for a moment that there was no caste system in India, that Hindus and Musalmans, and the numerous subdivisions of those two great communities, sank their differences and met together as; children of a common mother, that all joined in paying that respect and consideration to women which is the birthright of their sex; that the ladies of India instead of being shut out from all intercourse with the outside world behind the prison walls of the *zenana*, were properly educated and took their rightful places by the side of their husbands, brothers and other relations in the struggle of life; that there were no longer in the population of India the children of premature mothers and undeveloped fathers. Suppose we reached such a social, moral and physical perfection, could any power on earth keep us from obtaining the fullest political privileges enjoyed by the most advanced nations of the world? No, all the powers of the world put together could not do it.

The two states of society, I have assumed above, may be very difficult if not impossible to conceive, but extreme cases are always safe tests of the soundness or otherwise of an argument. My point is that social reform, in which I include moral and physical reform, must either precede or go hand in hand with political reform.

I have shown that the first case I assumed, viz., that of a highly developed political organisation without its being preceded by, or accompanied with, a corresponding expansion of social, moral and physical virtues, is hopelessly impossible. On the other hand a perfect social system free of the abuses I have mentioned must, in the very nature of things extort the full measure of political privileges. Such being the relation between social and political reform, you cannot neglect the former or assign it a position of secondary importance, if you wish to pursue the latter to its legitimate goal. It is more appropriate, therefore, to call social reform the revered mother of political reform than merely her humble sister.

Gentlemen, you will excuse me for taking up your time with what may, at first sight, appear only a wrangle about words. It is, in my humble

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opinion, of the highest importance, especially in these days of Council reforms, and other political concessions, to clearly appreciate and bear in mind that political agitation is not the be-all and end-all of our existence. You have only to glance through the voluminous blue-books that have recently been issued on the subject of those reforms, to be convinced that the reason why you have got so little of representation after so much fuss about it, is to be traced to your own short-comings as a nation. You will find the opinions of leading English statesmen and Anglo-Indian officials summarised at page 8 of Vol. I, and you will see that from the late Mr. Gladstone[1] down to Lord MacDonell, the one theme they all harp upon is the diversity of "races, classes and interests". Had we assigned the mother of political reform her proper place in the household, and started on the campaign with her blessings upon us, we should today have been rejoicing over greater triumphs, than we are able to congratulate ourselves upon.

Next in importance to a true appreciation of the real value of social reform is the question, how are we to proceed with it? As I have already said every branch of the subject has already been so thoroughly discussed, that it is too late in the day to think of any new or original arguments in support of the various recommendations made by our great reformers and the resolutions passed at the numerous conferences. I do not believe that there are men now who have any reasonable doubt about the crying need for reform. If there be such, I have no hesitation in advising them for their own sake, for the sake of their country and for the sake of all that they hold nearest and dearest to themselves, to retire into the jungles and pass what remains to them of life in solemn meditation. To those who agree with me in thinking that the time is ripe for reform, I say waste no more time in words, begin the real fight with an earnestness and determination worthy of the noble cause. The work before you is beset with difficulties I admit, but there is no difficulty that you cannot overcome if you rise to the full height which the occasion demands. The path of the reformer was never known to be strewn with roses. But we have now reached a point from which further advance is not so difficult as it was some years ago. What was at one time put down as the ravings of a madman, is not listened to with rapt attention. Things from which a former generation indignantly turned away, are not only tolerated but commended. As the circumstances have changed, so must we modify our tactics; and instead of merely meeting in conference as a general advisory council to give gratuitous advice to various caste institutions, we must put our heads together as practical men, devise means to establish a common platform for the different castes and take our stand on that platform like determined men. At the second Social Conference held in conjunction with the Indian National Congress at Allahabad in 1888, the late Mr. Justice Ranade

[1]William Ewart Gladstone, b. 1809; eminent British Liberal statesman and Prime Minister, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94; M.P. for nearly 60 years; great orator, parliamentarian, financial expert, and prime mover of Irish Home Rule; d. 1898.

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referred to the difficulties of reconciling the conflicting regulations of different castes and proceeded to say:

> The difficulties referred to above make it impossible, [to] some extent, for us all to adopt, as in the political Congress, definite resolutions on particular subjects. Meeting as we do here to-day, as members subject to different caste jurisdictions in social matters, it will be hopeless to expect that our resolution will carry the weight which the resolutions of the Congress are in a position to secure for themselves. It is on this account that we have to confine ourselves to recommendations from the general body to local and caste associations, which these latter are to take into their consideration and give effect to within their own sphere, in such directions as they deem convenient or necessary.

This was at best a weak plea for the existence of the "general body" even in 1888, but whatever justification there may at the time have been for such an extremely modest statement of the claims of an institution known by the high sounding name of the "Indian Social Conference" there is no warrant for it now. More than twenty Indian summers have since passed over our heads, and that is not an inconsiderable length of time even for a nation to mark a further stage of advancement. Most of you will remember the little tea-pot storms which were raised in the eighties, over foreign travel and widow re-marriage. In spite of this the more daring souls amongst us continued to go or send their sons to foreign countries for various pursuits; and widow remarriages, few and far between as they were, continued to be celebrated in different communities. Opposition naturally began to lose its intensity and offensiveness, till at last we have now arrived at a stage when the news of such an occurrence, so far from in the least ruffling the calm surface of society, is received with general satisfaction by all sensible men. The time for limiting your functions to the making of mere recommendations is, therefore, long since past. I have no doubt that if you had the good fortune of listening to the late Mr. Justice Ranade from my place on this platform, you would have heard nothing very different to what I am now submitting before you. However that may be, I am now talking to you with the fullest responsibility for every statement I make, and with the strongest determination to act up to what I say. I would not let any local or caste association usurp jurisdiction over me in matters which affect the general weal of all castes and communities. To repeat a well-known aphorism "I am an Indian first and a Brahmin afterwards" and I decline to follow any custom or usage of the Brahmins, however sanctified it may be by age or authority, if it comes in the way of my duties as a true Indian. I am assured, however, by those who know better (and it is particularly gratifying to me to be thus assured) that there is really nothing in true Brahminism which would conflict with a Brahmin's duty as an Indian. That great Brahmin of Brahmins deeply learned in the sacred lore of Brahminism, to whose saintly character, gigantic intellect and single-minded devotion to his country we owe some of the noblest conceptions of our duty to the motherland, I mean the late Mr. Justice Ranade, denounced caste as "the main blot on our social system" and went on to

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say that "the great fight has to be maintained here and not on the outskirts." Foreign travel and widow re-marriage met with his unqualified approval. Infant marriage and the pardah system received their condemnation at his venerable hands. Female education found in him one of its staunchest champions. In the speech I have already referred to, he said:

> It is a fortunate thing that most of the social evils complained of in these days were unknown in the days of our highest glory, and in seeking their reform we are not initiating any foreign models but restoring its ancient freedom and dignity in place of subsequent corruption.

What right then has any one to tell me that, when I humbly subscribe to these very articles of faith and only advocate a step in advance necessitated by a change of circumstance and surroundings, I am doing anything which it is not strictly within my province as a Brahmin to do. And what is the step in advance that I beg you to take? I beseech you to free yourself from the thraldom of caste in matters which affect the public weal, and in doing so not merely to confine yourself to passing resolutions but to act upon those resolutions like men, regardless of narrow-minded opposition from your caste fellows. Let local and caste associations work to eradicate evils which are peculiar to their own systems, but let them not intermeddle with questions of national importance. In regulating your relations with members of other castes these local and sectarian bodies are assuming a jurisdiction over those other castes which they have no right to do. It is only for a Conference like this, where the different castes are represented that any rule of common action can be legitimately laid down. How can you expect a caste association to do away with the system which is the very foundation upon which it rests? You might as well appeal to the Pope to abolish Catholicism. It is for this Conference to take it upon itself to determine the relations of its members as between themselves, whatever the class or creed to which they may belong. If this is not to be, I do not see the utility of holding these Conferences. As consultative or advisory bodies, their assistance is not now required. I have never heard of any instance in which a local or caste association has either recognized your authority or acted on the gratuitous advice you have been offering for the benefit of any passerby who may choose to avail of it. It has no doubt been customary for some of these associations to send in reports of their work during the year and I am bound to say that work has, in some instances, been very commendable. But it is high time that we ceased to be a mere Post Office, and undertook to do something more practical, something more lasting. Let us show that we really mean what we say by pledging ourselves individually to a strict adherence, in actual practice, to the resolutions we pass on paper.

The proper education of our boys and girls is of course the first requisite for every reform, and in this respect we are fortunate enough to possess earnest workers who need no resolution of this conference to stir them up. The special business of a gathering like this is to carry the war into the very heart of the enemy's camp and not to waste powder and

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shot on the outskirts of the battlefield. Let us therefore begin at once, and in all earnestness, to remove the two ugliest blots on our social system—caste and pardah. These are the two evils which have dragged us down the social scale and made us the laughing-stock of modern civilization. Instead of trying to work out an unwieldy programme, embracing the minutest details of life, let us concentrate our energies on the root cause of the whole mischief. Let us educate our men and women, break down the barriers of caste and purdah and the rest will follow as certainly as day follows night. In these matters I recognize no authority that lays down the opposite view and it is these very matters which I have referred to as affecting the public weal and, therefore, beyond the jurisdiction of any local or sectional association. Year after year, you pass resolutions dealing with such questions as excessive expenditure on marriages, the marriages of innocent children, and the re-marriage of widows: you discuss the advisability of foreign travel, of the readmission of converts into their old religion, of ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes, and you advocate temperance and other kinds of social purity. But, gentlemen, all these questions would become out of date, once your men and women are properly educated and caste and pardah become the sad memories of a sadde r past.

It is a waste of time and energy for a national gathering like the present to sit in solemn conclave over marriage expenditure and the like. You may as well begin by laying down rules to control the kitchen expenses of your fellow countrymen. Marriages are the only important occasions when the poor women we have shut up behind the pardah are allowed to assert themselves. Who can blame them if they want to make the most of the one opportunity of their lives, regardless of expense. Educate them and let them have a glimpse of the outside world. Education will teach them to live within their means, and direct contact with the world will afford them ample opportunity to bring into action those great virtues which they have inherited from the same mothers who gave birth to the greatest of your men. Will they then find their only amusement in running up the marriage bill?

Next take early marriage. Here again it suits the selfishness of men to attribute the evil solely to their womenkind to whom of course they must yield in matters relating to marriage. This I do not hesitate to stigmatize as the most ungenerous argument that was ever used by man to hide his sins. Marry a young girl before she has had time to open her eyes, shut her up behind the cruel walls of the zenana, make her a mother before she has ceased to feel the want of the tender care of her own mother, kill every true instinct of womanhood in her and hide your own weakness by saying that your wife will not consent to put off the marriage of her infant son or daughter till he or she attains the age of puberty. What chance have you given your wife to consider the pros and cons of such a marriage? And why should you, lord and master of the poor weakling who slaves for you night and day and feels the force of your iron will at every turn, why should you yield on this one subject of the marriage of your dear son or daughter to the untrained wishes of your slave who knows not what she

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says? Men who have to resort to such a subterfuge, and you know as well as I do that their number is legion, are guilty of the greatest sin that was ever committed against God and men. By their own weakness they perpetuate one of the greatest evils, and who can tell how many of the brightest intellects that might have shone in various walks of life have perished at their hands? Great as the evil is, does the remedy lie in passing a resolution prohibiting infant marriages? No, the remedy must, in order to be effective, be applied to the root of the disease. The root is want of education and existence of purdah—the remedy, education and the lifting up of purdah.

We will now take the other items of the programme simultaneously, viz., foreign travel, re-admission of converts and the condition of the lower castes. Suppose you knocked the caste system itself on the head, would you still require any great argument to convince your countrymen that foreign travel is highly desirable, that re-admission of converts is an absolute necessity, and that the condition of what are now the lower castes calls for immediate amelioration. As to the remaining items I need hardly trouble you with arguments to show that reform in those directions is bound to follow in the wake of education. It may occur to you to ask why it is that I do not confine myself to the question of education alone and leave caste and purdah to die a natural death under pressure of influences which a general education of men and women is bound to set on foot. Well, gentlemen, I am free to confess that my heart sinks within me when I realise the reason why I feel constrained to deal with these questions independently of education and to put them in the very forefront of the programme. The reason is simple enough, however painful it may be to have to admit it. (You) well know that education has so far signally failed to grapple with the difficulties of caste and purdah. Most of us have come across highly educated and cultured men who agree with us in theory but whose hearts strangely enough fail them when the time comes to put their theories into practice. There are some few equally educated and cultured who, though convinced of the many evils that these two backward institutions have brought upon us, would still justify their existence on the ground of their antiquity. There is yet another class of educated men, who know of no reason why these institutions should exist, but some how or other cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of seeing them perish. And lastly, there are the old women of both sexes who live in constant dread of their grand-mothers and mothers-in-law. With such men who include in their number some of the highly gifted and respected leaders of your community how can you possibly expect education alone to show any practical results. After all education can but enlighten the mind. That it has done but caste and pardah have outlived the enlightenment of the mind. You must therefore employ other means to uproot the evil. But what are those other means? The answer is afforded by the well-known copy-book maxim, "Example is better than precept." A breach wide enough to admit you all has already been made in the stronghold of the enemy. Rush in and dethrone the tyrant. It is not a moment too soon

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to begin the attack. In all conscience we have waited long and waited in vain.

In view of what I have already submitted the position we have to face is this. There are serious social evils in our system which prevent us from taking our proper place among the nations of the world. We have two classes of general bodies comprising members of all castes and creeds, viz., the Indian Social Conference and the various Provincial Conferences to deal with those evils from a national point of view. We have also numerous caste associations which have the same object from a comparatively narrow or sectarian point of view. The national bodies are obviously more important than the sectarian bodies but as I have shown above they have not yet appreciated the full force and weight of their responsibility. This they ought at once to be made to do. For reasons I have already mentioned I would put the Indian Social Conference on exactly the same footing as the Indian National Conference with regard to Provincial Conferences and would found district associations and committees affiliated to the Conference of the Province in which they are situated on the same lines as the District Congress Committees now exist. I would further enlarge the jurisdictions of the Indian and Provincial Conferences and transform them from mere advisory councils to responsible institutions having the power under proper safeguards to bind the district committees with their resolutions. The real work of reform will, however, have to be done by the district associations and committees because bodies which meet but once a year cannot possibly carry on the work so efficiently as those that can meet as often as they like. All these associations and committees will direct their energies principally to female education and the evils of caste and purdah. They will help in the opening of new girls' schools and strengthening those that already exist, as also open clubs where facilities for inter-dining between members of different castes will be afforded and amusements for both sexes provided. Other reforms will also receive the attention due to them. Careful records and registers of all reforms accomplished within the year will be kept and the results forwarded to the Secretary of the Provincial Conference whose duty it will be to lay them before the Conference when it meets. Such is the outline of the scheme I would commend for your acceptance. We cannot of course lay down any rules for the Indian Social Conference and I have mentioned it only to show how the whole scheme would work. But we can lay down rules for ourselves, and though it is not for me to anticipate your resolutions, I am anxious to draw your attention to the necessity of establishing district associations and committees on the lines I have indicated above.

It may perhaps be asked why it is necessary to have district committees when there are so many caste associations already in existence. As I have said before I do not mean to detract in the least from the good services of these associations, but being professedly sectional they cannot be national. On the district committees I would have so far as practicable representatives of all the castes and creeds in the district which no caste association will permit.

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Gentlemen, the subject of social reform is as delicate as it is difficult. I cannot presume to say I have been able to do justice to it. All I can say is that I have tried to do my duty honestly and fearlessly, and if in doing so I have unintentionally offended any one I can only hope he will forgive me.

121. Speech on Budget Proposals for 1910-11, April 25, 1910.[1]

I am free to confess if it were given to me to have the pleasure of a private interview with the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary—a pleasure which for causes beyond my control I have so far been compelled to deny myself—I should at the first mention of the budget have held up my hands in common with the more fortunate and privileged of my honourable Colleagues who, we are told, have actually gone through that edifying process. I am also free to confess that in doing so I would have shared much of their ignorance of the technicalities and little of their knowledge of the intricacies of so dreadful a thing as the budget; and, but for the kindly encouragement and wholesome advice given by the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary in his speech at the last meeting of the Council, I might perhaps have treated the council today to a spectacle not very unlike that witnessed by the Hon'ble member at his private residence. It is by adopting his suggestion, that is, by disregarding the technicalities and intricacies, that I am encouraged to submit to the Council a few observations of general character.

The most striking feature of the budget is the recent provincial settlement with the Government of India. It is not a new feature, I admit, and has in the past called for strong criticism from hon'ble members. So far as I am aware, the cogent and convincing arguments adduced to show how grossly inadequate and unjust our allotment is, have never met with a single note of dissent in this Council. But the subject is so important and our grievance so real that I feel it is our duty to continue from year to year to call the attention of the Government of India to it till such time as the full measure of justice due to us is attained. Provincial Governments in matters of finance have been likened by some to shorn sheep left out in the cold and by others to fat sheep who having eaten too much have rolled on their backs and are unable to stand on their legs. But whether as a class they are the one or the other, there can be no doubt that this province is treated as the black sheep of the flock under the care of the Government of India. It is unnecessary for me to detain the Council on this point with well-worn arguments which are familiar to hon'ble members. All we ask for is equal treatment with the sister provinces, all of whom, except the Punjab, are much better off than we

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulation, 1910* (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 165-69.

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are. If the Government of India cannot at present see the way to put us on the same footing with the sister provinces by increasing our share of our own revenues from 3/8 to 1/2, the very least it might do for us is to relieve us of a proportionate part of the burden of the charges of collection, the whole of which, under the present arrangement, falls on us. Even if this last concession is made to us for the present we shall have some 50 lakhs a year to meet some of our crying wants.

The next remarkable feature of the budget is the abnormal rise in the receipts from court-fee stamps. The revised treatment for 1909-10 puts the total receipts from all kinds of stamps at 110 lakhs, and out of which no less than Rs. 80,86,000 are accounted for by court-fee stamps. The Hon'ble the Financial Secretary in this connection remarks:

> It will be seen that the bulk of the additional income has been obtained from court-fee stamps and the great increase of litigation indicated by an increase of Rs. 21,68,000 under the head is a rather serious matter, the exact causes of which it may be desirable to ascertain.

From a purely professional point of view one is tempted to demur to the statement, but having regard to the general poverty of these provinces there can be no doubt that an abnormal increase in litigation is a very serious matter indeed, and it is certainly most desirable not only to ascertain the causes which have led to it but also to devise means to control if not altogether prevent, the operation of those causes. But the fact remains that there has been an abnormal rise in the revenue due to increase of litigation, and one naturally feels curious to know how this windfall of nearly 22 lakhs, half of which, is the provincial share, has been utilised. The item not being earmarked, it is impossible to trace it on the expenditure side of the financial statement. In other words it has not been applied to any specific object, but has been absorbed by the general expenditure. By natural association of ideas this circumstance leads one to think of that department which has contributed this large addition to the provincial exchequer, and once your attention is directed to that department it is easy to take in the whole of it at a glance from the lowest munsifs to the highest court of last resort for these provinces in India. And in what condition do we find them? Their needs are well known to and fully recognised by the Government. There are definite recommendations of the Greeven Committee for the improvement of the subordinate Judiciary which have been fully approved by the Government, but which, we are told, can only be carried out by instalment. Then there is His Majesty's Court of Judicature for the N.W.P.—a high-sounding name indeed, the mere mention of which recalls to mind the best traditions of British Justice. We find that August tribunal housed in a rickety old barrack with cracked walls sinking foundations and not even room enough to move about. In answer to certain questions I had the honour to put at the last meeting of the Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Stuart was good enough to quote certain passages from the correspondence which passed between the Government and High Court on the subject. The upshot of that correspondence was that while the Government fully

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recognised the need, it could not in the near future find such a large sum of money as would be required for a new and thoroughly up-to-date building. The Government therefore first suggested certain additions and improvements in the existing building and then the building of a separate block, but neither of these suggestions commended itself to the Hon'ble Court and in their last communication they said:

> The Court deprecates the spending of a large sum of money on extension of the present building, which can never afford suitable accommodation, and considers that the question can be satisfactorily settled only by the creation of a new building.

It is impossible to disagree with the sound sense of this remark, but we are told by the Hon'ble Mr. Stuart "the present position of provincial finances does not justify the consideration of a proposal to construct an entirely new building." The position therefore is this. The High Court and the Subordinate Courts must go on contributing the lion's share of the provincial revenues from court fees for the benefit of the other departments of the state, but must not claim anything for their own needs, however necessary and urgent they may be. I am aware that the unproductive departments of the state must be maintained by the productive ones, but in spite of my limitations in regard to matters relating to finance, which I frankly admit, I cannot assent to the proposition that the productive departments must be starved in order to feed the unproductive ones. It seems to me that the various departments in these provinces form a sort of a joint Hindu family consisting of a new bread-winners and a number of idle mouths. The bread-winners must starve themselves to feed the idle mouths. India is the only country in the British Empire, if not in the whole civilized world, which levies heavy tax on justice in the form of Court fees. It is bad enough that such a tax should exist. It is infinitely worse that after being levied it should be applied to purpose other than those connected with the administration of justice.

There is yet another aspect of the question which was also brought out in answer to a question I had the honour of asking at the last meeting of the Council. The Hon'ble Mr. Goument[1] told us that there are seventeen public offices under the Local Government at present in Allahabad which are located in hired houses, and that no less than Rs. 14,237 per annum is paid by the Government for house rent. We were also told by the same hon'ble member that the question of constructing Government buildings to accommodate these offices was under the consideration of the Government. The suggestion I conveyed in my question was that the existing High Court building might be utilized to accommodate these offices and a new building be constructed for the High Court. Now a recurring expenditure of Rs. 14,237 per annum roughly represents at 3½ per cent a capital of over 4 lakhs, which will provide at least half

[1]Charles Earnest Vear Goument, ed. at Thompson College, Roorkee; Under-Secretary, Government of Punjab, 1899-1902; Secretary, Government of U.P., 1908; retired from service, 1912.

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the cost of a new building for the High Court. But I fear I am poaching on the grounds of the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary and the Hon'ble Mr. Goument and will not carry my calculation further. I merely mention it to draw the attention of those hon'ble members to this aspect of the matter. My point is that the need for a new and up-to-date High Court building is so great that funds should be found for it with the least possible delay. If in spite of the large windfalls the Government is having from court fees and in spite of the fact that money is likely to be forthcoming for the construction of new buildings for other public offices the state of provincial finances will not justify the building of a new High Court, then there is nothing for it but to go to the Government of India and ask for a special grant. Think of the palatial buildings, the magnificent piles of noble architecture, in which the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras High Courts are lodged. Think of the enormous recurring expenditure of the annual exodus to the hills. Think of the High Court, N.W.P., broiling on the plains with a shaky roof over its head.

It may strike some of the hon'ble members that I am overstating the case. I do not admit that I am. At any rate the urgency of the need is fully recognised by your Honour, and I earnestly beg you to devise means to remove the long-felt want.

The next matter closely connected with the administration of justice which is noticeable in the budget statement is the expenditure on police. The police is no doubt a very useful department—though I frankly admit that if it were necessary for me to investigate crime I for one would employ other agency than the police as it is now constituted. But I recognise the fact that no Government could exist without an efficient police, and fund must be found to maintain a proper police force. There is, however, such a thing as over-policing a province and I venture to think that our provinces are over-policed. It is unnecessary for me to go into the corresponding figures of police expenditure in the other provinces. Those figures were brought out and the disparity was clearly shown in the course of the budget debate in the Viceroy's Council, and I take it that the hon'ble members have followed that interesting and instructing debate. It cannot be denied that we spend more on the police than any other province except Burma, though ours is the most well-behaved of all provinces in India.

One cannot rise from a study of that part of the financial statement which deals with the expenditure on education and sanitation without a feeling of despair. There is so much wanted and so little done in these directions. Compare an expenditure of over a crore of rupees on the police with the paltry 29 lakhs on education and 18 lakhs on sanitation. As other hon'ble members are sure to take up these points more fully I will not trouble the Council with details, but content myself with joining those hon'ble members in the earnest prayer that in future much larger assignments may be obtained for those essentially necessary purposes.

Before I resume my seat I beg your Honour to allow me to give expressions to the deep sense of gratitude felt by the public at your Honour's benevolent efforts to promote the cause of technical education

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and improve the home industries of the provinces. The assignments of the medical college and various technical schools and other useful institutions, either secured by your Honour from the Government of India or made from the provincial funds, will always be gratefully remembered as one of the chief features of your Honour's rule. It is earnestly prayed that your Honour may from time to time find ways and means to give further effect to your benevolent intentions.

122. Short history of my family—submitted to Government of U.P. through Collector in compliance with G.O. No. 162-IV-109 dt. 23.2.1910 to Commr. Alld. Division.[1]

There is no record of the history of the family, all the old papers & documents being destroyed in the mutiny of 1857. The oldest living member of the family is my brother Pandit Bansi Dhar Nehru, a Govt. pensioner, who retired from the post of Subordinate Judge of the 1st Grade in these Provinces some 13 years ago and is now 68 years old. He has furnished the following account the early part of which is mainly based on family tradition.

Pandit Raj Kaul the great grandfather of my grandfather was a Sanskrit and Persian scholar of great eminence in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of the Emperor Farukhsiyar[2] when the latter was on a visit to Kashmir and the family migrated to Delhi about 1716. Some villages and a house situated on the canal running through the city were granted in Jagir to Pandit Raj Kaul. From the fact of his residence on the canal (Nahar) he was known as Raj Kaul Nehru and in course of time the word "Nehru" came to be regarded as a surname and was adopted as such by the family.

During the unsettled state of the throne and the country which followed the assasination of Farukhsiyar the family went through many vicissitudes of fortune the details of which are not known with any certainty. All that is known is that the last holders of the *Jagir* which had then dwindled into zamindari rights in certain lands were my great grandfather Pandit Mausaram Nehru and his brother Pandit Saheb Ram Nehru.

My grandfather Pandit Lachminarain Nehru was the first Vakil of the "Sarkar Company" at the Imperial Court at Delhi. My father Pandit Ganga Dhar Nehru was Kotwal of Delhi for some time before the mutiny of 1857. He died at the early age of 34 in 1861 some three months before I was born.

In the maternal line my great grandfather was the Diwan of Shamru

[1]From Motilal Nehru's Diary.

[2]Delhi Emperor, 1714-19; his short-lived unfortunate rule witnessed turmoil, conflict and intrigue culminating in his assassination in 1719. The Mughal Empire disintegrated soon after.

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Ki Begum[1] (the Begum of Dyce Sombre's). My grandfather Pandit Shankernath Zutshi was a famous man of letters at Delhi and is mentioned by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his book entitled *As' ar-us-sanadid* at p. 122.

I am the youngest of three brothers. The eldest Pandit Bansidhar Nehru already mentioned is now living in retirement at Mathra (U.P.). The next was Pandit Nandlal Nehru who served as Diwan in the Khetri State (Rajputana) with great credit for some ten years and in that capacity rendered signal services to the Thaggi and Dacoity Department of the British Government from which he received several Kharitas and letters in recognition of his services. On the death of the then Raja[2] he moved to Allahabad and having qualified as a Vakil of the High Court soon made his way to the front ranks of the profession. He died suddenly in the prime of life in 1887.

I was born at Agra on the 6th May 1861 and was educated at the Govt. Schools at Allahabad and Cawnpore and the Muir Central College. I was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court in 1883 and in January 1896 was admitted to the roll of Advocates by unanimous resolution of the Chief Justice and the Hon'ble Judges then constituting the Court. In August 1909 I was permitted to appear and plead at the bar of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council. In December 1909 I was elected a member of the Legislative Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces by the delegates of the Allahabad Division.

M.N.
3.7.10

123. Welcome Address to Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.[3]

Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Partab Singh, Inder Mahinder Bahadur, Sipare Saltanat, G.C.S.I. Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, May it please your Highness.

We, the Kashmiri Brahmins of Allahabad, beg to offer your Highness a most cordial welcome to the holy city of Prayag and thank Your Highness for allowing us this opportunity to offer our humble tribute of respect to you as the Ruling Sovereign of the country of our origin.

Attracted by the grandeur of the Mughal Court our ancestors migrated from their charming home at different periods of history to seek 'fresh fields and pastures new' and succeeded in securing for themselves no mean

[1]Johanna Zebunissa, by birth a Kashmiri, married Walter Reinhard, popularly known as General Samru in 1776; ran the estate of Sardhana as Begum Samru with great ability; became a Roman Catholic, 1781; built churches at Meerut; d. 1837.

[2]Raja Fateh Singh of Khetri died at Delhi on 30 November 1870.

[3]The address was presented to the Maharaja Sir Partab Singh, Inder Mahinder Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, by Motilal Nehru. *The Leader*, 4 December, 1910.

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place in the aristocracy of intellect which met at Delhi, Agra and other places in those days. Many generations have since passed by—the Mughal Empire has given place to another and mightier Empire. We have shared many vicissitudes of fortune with other fellow-countrymen of ours living in these parts. But there has always been and will ever be a soft place in our hearts for that beautiful part of the Motherland which gave birth to the great *Rishis* and *Munis* whose blood is coursing through our veins and is sustaining us in the struggle of life. We shall never cease to take an affectionate pride in calling our own that land of matchless charms which has in all ages inspired the song of the poet in the East and the West and made solid contributions to the thought and art of the world. To us the ancient history of Kashmir is a sacred memory and if the past can, in any manner inspire the future, we may be permitted to express a hope that under your wise benevolent and sympathetic rule the future of Kashmir and the Kashmiris may yet add a bright page to the history of modern India.

Living as we do at a distance from the home of our forefathers, we beg to assure Your Highness that we follow with keen interest the course of events there, and are deeply gratified at the efforts which Your Highness and your Government have been making for the moral and material progress of the country. We have learnt with no small satisfaction that Your Highness has just been pleased to take over the Hindu College in Kashmir under your direct charge and protection, and we have no doubt that in years to come the college will be able to serve the best interests of the Kashmiris and the State.

We earnestly hope and pray that God Almighty may grant you a long life, and that the history of Kashmir under your Highness' beneficient rule may be one of uninterrupted progress and prosperity.

We beg to subscribe ourselves, Your Highness' most humble and obedient servants.

124. Vote of Thanks to William Wedderburn.[1]

Ladies and gentlemen, —It is hardly necessary for any one to support the resolution put before you by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, but the Allahabad members of the Reception Committee feel that they would be wanting in the their duty if they did not participate in the honour of associating themselves with Mr. Gokhale in this particular resolution.

It has often been said, gentlemen, and with great truth, that the greatest honour that we, as Congressmen, can do to any man is to elect

[1]Vote of thanks proposed to the President of the Indian National Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, was seconded by Motilal Nehru.

Report of the Twenty-Fifth Indian National Congress held at Allahabad on the 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th December 1910 (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 113-15.

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him as president of the Indian National Congress (cheers). But in the case of Sir William Wedderburn I can say without fear of contradiction that it is the Congress which has been honoured by his acceptance of its Presidentship. Gentlemen, it is not merely to do you that honour, great as it is, that at his age and in his state of health he has run the risk of a long voyage and come to you He has come to you with a mission, with a duty to perform. He has come to you, gentlemen, to add one more valuable service to the long list of invaluable services he has already rendered to you and to your country. His mission, gentlemen, is a noble one. It is a mission of peace and of goodwill The two eyes of the fair maiden of the famous aphorism of Sir Syed Ahmed had so far lost their brilliancy and their power of vision that they took the maiden to the brink of an awful precipice. Sir William came at this juncture to restore the blessing of sight to both the affected eyes, to save the fair maiden from falling headlong over the precipice. This is a high mission and a noble mission. What success will crown his efforts has yet to be seen. and I confess we are not without misgivings, as to it. But whatever the final result may be, it is satisfactory to note that a beginning, full of happy augury, has already been made in this Congress hall.

We have expressly declared what indeed was never denied and in clear language freely conceded to our Mahomedan brethren all that they are entitled to. Now, gentlemen, the resolution that we have passed relating to the Council Reform is a resolution which carries with it the reminiscences of at least a quarter of a century. It was the very first resolution which was placed before the first Congress,—no, I think it was the third resolution—but at any rate it was placed at the very first Congress. And ever since we have been working upon national lines for the good of the motherland and not on sectarian lines for the good of this or that community. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and all others have always been welcome to join in the common service, to the common mother, but, gentlemen, is there one in this vast gathering who is not painfully aware that the co-operation and sympathy of any very considerable number of Mahomedans has not been with us. True it is that we have had with us a noble though a small band of Mahomedan gentlemen who have the best interests of the country at large at heart. We must do all honour to these gentlemen, but at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the great bulk of the Mahomedan community has so far stood aloof from us and has recently given birth to to what is known as the Moslem League. Now, gentlemen, the propaganda of this League do not tally with ours and the conflict which has risen, threatens, if it is continued, to sap the very root of the noble tree which was planted by the Congress twenty-five years ago and which has since been tended with care—loving care—by Congressmen in all parts of India. There can be no question, gentlemen, that you can have no place among the nations of the world if these differences between the Hindus and the Mahomedans are not made a thing of the past. Sir William Wedderburn by the sacrifices he has made, and those sacrifices have been most ably laid before you by my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, has shown to you that there is no price too dear to purchase national unity between these

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two great communities (cheers). Gentlemen, Sir William Wedderburn has taught you a lesson, has taught all of us a lesson and that lesson is, fix your eyes steadfastly on the goal of your ambition and do not allow yourselves to be led away by paltry and temporary advantages gained by one community over the other (hear, hear). That I take, gentlemen, is the lesson he has given us by presiding over this Congress. It is difficult for me to express the sentiments of the Reception Committee, especially of the Allahabad Members of that Committee after the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. It is difficult for any one to find words after speeches like those of Babu Surendranath Banerjea and Mr. Gokhale and therefore I will not detain you any further but will conclude my remarks requesting you to join in my prayer that Sir William Wedderburn may be spared to us for many a long year to come (cheers) to continue his useful career (cheers). As the President cannot put this proposition to vote, I ask you to carry it with acclamation.

125. Resolution on Teaching of Ayurvedic and Unani Systems of Medicines. November 23, 1911.[1]

With Your Honour's permission I will only make a few remarks on this resolution. My honourable friend Rai Sundar Lal Bahadur has just pointed out the practical difficulties in the way of passing this resolution in Council, and Colonel Manifold[2] has shown how very difficult, if not impossible, it would be to instruct students of the Lucknow Medical College in both the systems at one and the same time. The honourable mover of the resolution has my full sympathy in the object he has in view. The Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine are not only the most ancient institutions of this country, but have fully justified their existence in the present day. In spite of the numerous institutions of the west, hospitals, dispensaries, medical practitioners and private practitioners, there are still a very large number of people who resort to one or the other of these systems, and the results achieved in the way of alleviating human suffering are by no means inconsiderable. There are many Indian members present to-day who would readily recall cases which have been successfully treated by either of these systems after the more up-to-date science of the west has failed to give relief. That is a thing which cannot be doubted. Besides, I think it is fair to presume that the systems have received the recognition of the Government, for if it is not so, what significance can be attached to the titles of Zai-ul-Mulk and Shafa-ul-Mulk which have been conferred from time to time upon the Hakim family of Delhi, and the title of

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1911* (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 297-99.

[2] Colonel Courtenay Clarke Manifold, Member, Legislative Council, U.P., Inspector-General, Civil Hospital, 1913.

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Mahamahopadhyaya which has been conferred on Kaviraj Sen of Calcutta, who has been a noted physician of India. Surely the Government, by conferring these titles, encourage these systems, so I submit that it is not correct to say that by helping these institutions, as is said in one of the extracts read by the Hon'ble Colonel Manifold, we would be reviving the dark ages. As Colonel Maclaren said, in the extract read by the honourable mover: "As time goes on and social intercourse advances, there will be greater cooperation among gentlemen practising the two systems of medicine, for we can undoubtedly learn much from each other." Well, considering that these two systems deserve encouragement then it necessarily follows that something must be done to turn out duly qualified practitioners. So far as the honourable mover has that end in view, I have every sympathy with him, and I quite agree with him, but I am afraid the means he suggests will not be conducive to that end. He would have, as he puts it in his resolution, the students of the Lucknow Medical College read the western and eastern systems simultaneously. If this is done, in my humble judgement, the only result will be confusion and chaos in the minds of the students. There are vital differences between the two systems, not only in theory but also in practice: for example, just take the state of mind of a student who is told by one of his professors that the human body is composed of what are called the four elements—water, fire, earth and air, and in the very next room a student is told by another professor that these are not elements at all, that each of these is composed of one or two elements and that one drop of human blood contains a variety of elements. As to other things, imagine again for a student to be told in one room that the arteries contain air and to be actually shown by experiment in another that they are full of blood. It is very easy to multiply instances of this kind. I may mention another instance, and that is the definition of the pulse, as I was told by a *hakim* friend of mine the other day. I do not know if my honourable friend Colonel Manifold will accept that definition, but here it is for his approval: "The pulse is a movement in the arteries to interchange spirit with the air." I say, I do not know if my honourable friend will accept that definition of pulse. I am afraid he will rather stick to his own definition, whatever it is. At the same time I know for certain that there are honourable members in this Council who firmly believe, and have grounds for believing, that the art of diagnosing disease by feeling the pulse is very highly developed in the east, and there are some stories about wonderful feats performed by *hakims* so far as the feeling of the pulse is concerned; for example, that in one case where a *pardah-nashin* lady would not allow herself to be touched by the physician her pulse was examined by tying one end of a thread on to her wrist while the other was held by the *hakim* between his forefinger and thumb, and he thereby discovered what her ailment was. Now I have not seen it done myself, but in these days of wireless telegraphy I do not think it is impossible that this thing could be done. The fact remains that the modern scientist will probably not be able to develop that amount of sensitiveness in the tips of his finger for several generations, and that being so, the two systems, while they continue to exist, are not capable of being

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taught simultaneously, to beginners at least; and the result will be, as I submitted before, nothing but confusion in the minds of the students. Now I am quite at one with my honourable friend the mover, and I think, to that extent, he receives support from other speakers, that something should be done to encourage indigenous research by persons who have fully qualified themselves first in the course of instruction provided in the Medical College. Of course I quite agree with the Hon'ble Raja Rampal Singh that if the learned mover of the resolution had moved for a separate independent institution, whether attached to the Medical College or not, where these systems could be more conveniently taught, I would certainly give my ungrudging support, but as the motion stands on the paper I am sorry I have to speak against it.

126. Resolution Regarding the Establishment of a Library for the Legislative Council, March 13, 1913.[1]

"I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru. The want of a library for the use of honourable members is as keenly felt in Allahabad as in Lucknow. The Government has announced its intention to establish a library at Lucknow for the present. I thankfully accept it as a move in the right direction, but do not waive the stronger claims of Allahabad. A beginning has to be made somewhere, and I do not grudge Lucknow the place of honour it has been given. Allahabad will, I hope, soon follow suit. As regards the cost I agree with the honourable mover that civil works is an elastic head. I would not, however, deprive a Deputy Commissioner of the shelter of a substantial roof over his head or a Divisional Commissioner of the comforts of an up-to-date residence. There are works not yet commenced and these might wait for another year".

127. Resolution Regarding Additional Primary Schools, March 13, 1913.[2]

"I will not detain the Council for any considerable time. I only wish to say that I support the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru. I should have liked, without moving any amendment to the resolution, to follow the example of the Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal and the Hon'ble Babu

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), p. 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

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Ganga Prasad Varma and to suggest that the money, which my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru has asked, might come from some other source, and not from the police, but for a different reason. My reason is this that the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru wants to have a bite off the loaf that I have reserved for myself, and it is for this reason that I should have liked that the Government could find the money from some other department of the State. But the loaf is big enough for both of us; and even if it is not possible to take the money from a big budget like the police, then you ought to be able by economising in different ways to save at least a couple of lakhs for such a necessary thing as the education of boys and girls. With these observations I support the resolution".

128. Resolutions for the Enhancement of Financial Grants to Women's Educational Institutions, March 13, 1913.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the following resolution:—

"That this Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that the allotment to education for 1913-14 be raised by Rs. 1,00,000 non-recurring and Rs. 15,000 recurring for the purpose of—

(a) Opening and maintaining additional schools for girls.

(b) Opening and maintaining training schools or classes for lady teachers, and

(c) Increasing grants-in-aid to existing private girls' schools and that the allotments under the heads of Police and Civil Works be correspondingly reduced."

He said:—

"After the interesting debate of yesterday on the resolution of the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, I do not intend to detain the Council for more than a few minutes.

"Much has of late been said and done for education generally, and in moving this resolution I must not be taken to be wanting in a grateful appreciation of the liberal policy followed by the Government in recent years. The gracious solicitude shown by His Majesty the King-Emperor for the advancement of education and the prompt action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments in following up the Royal messages and boons with large grants of money have aroused feelings of the warmest gratitude throughout the country. The financial statement introduced yesterday bears eloquent testimony to the generosity of the Government and the keen interest it is taking in the spread of education. It is therefore in no spirit of captious fault-finding that I rise to ask the Council to recommend a further grant. My claim rests entirely on

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 172-179.

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the supreme importance of female education to the real progress of the country and on the belief that more money than has so far been spared can be profitably spent on it without disturbing the financial equilibrium of the Government. In making this claim I am not oblivious of the earnest efforts made by the Government in the past nor of the handsome additional allotment made for the coming year. But, liberal as these grants are admitted to be, they are as a drop in the ocean compared to the magnitude of the work that lies before the Government."

"The case of female education stands on a somewhat different footing from that of male education. It is admitted on all hands that there is scope, not only for the 600 additional schools for boys asked for by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, but six thousand and more if you can only provide the money required for them. In the case of girls, however, it is not generally conceded that there is any great need to increase the number of schools and this opinion is based on the unpopularity of female education."

"I am fully conscious of the fact that the Government has been considerably hampered by the apathy, if not the actual hostility, of the people; but apathy and hostility in matters of education are the natural outcome of the ignorance of the masses, and to adopt means to overcome this ignorance is an essential part of the programme the Government has set before itself. The policy to which it stands committed is based on the noble desire to dispel ignorance. There would be no need for education if there were no ignorance in the land. While, therefore, I fully appreciate the difficulties under which the Government has to work, I submit that these difficulties should serve as incentives to more extensive efforts. The question is: due allowance being made for the indifference of the people, can we not do better than we have done? To answer this question correctly we must look back a little."

"The history of female education in these provinces is a short and a sad one, and may be summed up in these words: 'no funds no teachers, no pupils.' It is not worth while to go further back than the year 1904, when an influential committee was appointed to advise the Government as to what methods of advancing female education are practicable under existing conditions in this province. The committee consisted of Rai Bahadur G.N. Chakravarti as president and a number of gentlemen as members who were said to have shown practical interest in the advancement of female education."

"This committee met and after a careful inquiry submitted its report in May, 1905. The recommendations of the committee so far as they affect the resolution before the Council, were:—

(1) That at least two model girls' schools (one for Hindus and the other for Muhammdans) be opened in the head quarters of every district with suitable building and staff.

(2) That special schools be opened for girls of lower classes.

(3) That liberal grants be given to schools started by public bodies or private individuals.

(4) That normal schools like the one at Lucknow be opened in other large towns. 'One of each educational circle would be none too many'.

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(5) That training classes be opened in connection with every large school of any importance.

(6) That lady teachers be imported from the more advanced provinces till the demand for teachers can be adequately met in our provinces.

(7) That grants of scholarships be made to girls preparing at home for teacherships."

"This report was received by the Government with due acknowledgement of its usefulness, but when it came to give effect to the recommendations of the committee the usual will of 'no funds' had to be raised. In his report for the year ending March, 1906, the Director of Public Instruction wrote as follows:—

"To carry out the suggestions of the committee in their entirety would have demanded an additional charge of full six lakhs of rupees a year, a sum by no means excessive for the object in view, but yet considerably beyond the power of Government to provide with its present resources. In order, therefore, to bring the cost within more moderate bounds I modified the scale of expenditure throughout, and reduced the estimate for new charges that would be incurred to something like three lakhs of rupees a year. But unfortunately the Government had to announce with regret, not only that this reduced amount was not available, but that there were no funds to make any further allotment for the purpose during the following year. Thus the financial straits of the Government made it impossible to make any large and determined effort for the furtherance of female education, however desirable and even necessary such a method might be. This admission, made as it was with regret, was received with disappointment by those who had welcomed the action of Government in appointing the committee as implying a promise of better things."

"After noticing certain proposals involving a very much reduced expenditure the Director observed:—

'It has been impossible for the Government to accept these proposals immediately on account of their cost; but something has been done and more planned, to enlarge the Lucknow normal school; and grants have been given to classes at aided schools. These meagre measures are, however, not enough to do justice to the matter; and they will no doubt be supplemented hereafter when money is forthcoming for the purpose.'

"Finally the chapter on female education winds up with the desponding remark: 'Thus it appears that, while the lines of advance have been marked out the great forward movement is indefinitely postponed.' The same lack of funds prevented any action worthy of notice during the following year, and my honourable friend, the Director of Public Instruction, having practically no improvement to show which could be attributed to the action of the Government, took the opportunity to comment strongly on the indifference of the people. Generally speaking the rebuke was well merited, but if anything stood out in prominent relief during the particular year under review it was private effort and enterprise. The Government resolution on this report says:—

'After so much that is disappointing it is gratifying to turn to the instances of private enterprise and generosity afforded by the Rampriya

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Kanya Pathshala at Partabgarh, the Partab Singh Girls School at Moradabad, the Kanya Pathshala at Dehra, the Parda School of the Central Hindu College, the Hindu Girls School at Lucknow, the Rani of Tiloi's school at Rae Bareli, and the private efforts reported by the chairman of the Basti district board.'

"As regards the paucity of competent teachers the same Government resolution has the following:—

'The great difficulty in the way of female education is the want of competent female teachers. The normal school for female teachers at Lucknow has become firmly established, but as yet has not fulfilled its purpose of supplying qualified women teachers. Greater success has been attained at the female normal school of the Church Missionary Society at Sigra near Benares and that of the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow. It is now time for the Government normal school to justify its existence by providing at least a certain number of trained teachers, if the difficulty of inducing girls to attend the school can be overcome.'

"As I shall presently show, the Lucknow normal school did more than justify not only its own existence, but the creation of similar schools elsewhere."

"The year 1908 was noted for an important pronouncement by the Local Government and the promise of a substantial grant to carry out some of the recommendations of Mr. Chakravarti's committee. Paragraph 5 of the Government resolution dealing with the subject was as follows:—

'It is proposed to spend upon the above proposals, if the public demand for assisatnce does not fall short of expectation, slightly over a lakh of rupees during the present year. What sums will be needed in succeeding years on these and other objects will depend upon the response which is made by the public to the efforts of Government to promote female education. It remains for the people to come forward and take advantage of its help and of the opportunities afforded for educating their girls. Without a genuine popular response the efforts of Government cannot be of much avail.'

"It is impossible to take exception to a single word in the extract I have read, but it has to be seen what, if any, response was made to the efforts of the Government. This is what we find in the Government resolution on the report of the Director of Public Instruction for the very next year, viz., 1909:—

'Female education has received a considerable amount of attention. A revision of the staff of the normal school for female teachers was sanctioned during the year. The accommodation of the school was taxed to the utmost, and some boarders had to be refused for want of room. Some new centres for training female teachers are reported to have been opened, and all those who receive a training obtain employment as soon as they finish their course.'

"What is the state of things revealed here? Why is the supply of teachers lamentably deficient? It is not for want of a genuine response to the efforts of the Government. The accommodation afforded by the solitary

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Government normal school was extended and within a few short months we find it taxed to the utmost and scores of zealous aspirants to the post of qualified teachers turned away for want of room. It is customary to speak in official reports of the 'unsolved problem of teachers'. Is not the solution of the problem ready at hand? Open more normal schools, more training classes, and there will be more and more qualified teachers everywhere. Teachers unlike poets, are made and not born. Make them, and you will have numerous examples such as those mentioned in the Government resolution on the report of 1911. It says:—

'The leaven of the desire of self-improvement is slowly beginning to affect some of the teachers. Such instances as those of a teacher who endeavoured to impart instruction in a plague camp, and of as ex-pupil offering her gratuitous services as teacher in her old school as a token of her gratitude for the education which she had received afford hope for the future.'

"More advanced countries than India might well be proud of examples like these. But what has actually been done to satisfy the undoubted demand for more training schools and classes? The Lucknow normal school still stands in solitary glory as the one institution of its kind in these provinces, and so far as that matter goes, we are in the year of grace 1913 exactly where we were 8 years ago when Mr. Chakravarti's committee recorded it as its deliberate opinion that 'one normal school for each educational circle would be none too many'.

"I do not know what improvement has been made since 1911 in the opening of training classes, as the report of 1912 has either not yet been issued or has not reached us. But we know from the answer given by the Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell[1] to a question put by the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru at the meeting of the Council held on the 20th January last, that another normal school is to be shortly opened. While thanking your Honour's Government for the promise conveyed in the answer, I cannot help feeling that the opening of only one more school is a wholly inadequate provision for the great demand for teachers in these provinces. We should have at least a dozen normal schools and a much larger number of training classes attached to other schools."

"Passing now from the teachers to the taught, it seems to be practically conceded on all hands that, given the necessary funds and the required number of teachers, pupils will be forthcoming in increasing numbers. I know that my honourable friend the Director of Public Instruction was not very optimistic about this in 1910. He then described the situation in these and graphic language as follows:—

'Altogether the accounts of female education do not make very exhilarating reading: they are mainly a tale of difficulties and baffled hopes in the attempt to scale a steep wall of prejudice and passive opposition.'

[1]Samuel Perry O' Donnell, b. 1874; entered Indian Civil Service 1896; served in the North-Western Provinces; Registrar, High Court 1910; Secretary to Government 1912; Officer on Special Duty in Finance Departmnt in Government of India, 1914; d. 1946.

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"I take the liberty of saying that the case is slightly overstated here: This is no doubt due to the fact that the earnest efforts made by my honourable friend have not brought in the harvest he expected to reap. And here let me take the opportunity to join in the general chorus of praise which greeted my friend yesterday on his earnestness in the cause of education. I do not deny that prejudice and opposition do exist in varying degrees throughout the province, but I can assure my honourable friend that so far as the more important towns are concerned there is not now any such 'wall of prejudice and passive opposition' as is referred to by him. Without travelling far afield I may give the following facts and figures from Allahabad itself. There are several girls' schools maintained here by the effort of private individuals. The figures relating to three of these have been made available to me. The first is the Arya Kanya Pathshala with an enrolment of 160. The Government grant-in-aid is Rs. 56 per mensem and the municipal grant Rs. 25 per mensem. Then comes the Indian girls' school for Bengali girls with an enrolment of 103 and a Government grant-in-aid of Rs. 30 per mensem only. The third, the Gauri Pathshala, though the youngest of the three, is a promising institution with 97 girls on the roll. The Government gives Rs. 20 per mensem only and the municipal board Rs. 40. All three of these schools are maintained by public subscription, the amount of which varies, and more frequently than not the management find themselves in sore straits. The schools are housed in hired buildings with very limited accommodation and there is no room for more pupils. Similar institutions exist in many other towns. The figures I have given relating to the three Allahabad schools clearly show that the grants-in-aid made to them by the Government are but nominal. What should be done is that building grants to some of the more deserving of similar institutions should be made and the grants-in-aid given to others so increased as to enable them to continue and improve the good work they are doing.

"I have now said enough to establish the first part of the resolution I have laid before the Council, viz. the necessity for further provision in the budget for female education; and I now turn to the most difficult part of my business—that of suggesting ways and means. I have suggested in the first place that the money required should come out of the police. I have never doubted the great utility of this great department and would be loath to cut down the guardians of life and property, were it not for the fact that they have recently developed an all-devouring appetite and are already suffering from the after effects of over-feeding. The more you give them the more they want and the less they do. When you expect them to stop the depredations of the criminal classes they expect you to send them to school and teach them better manners—and for this they want a grant of one lakh non-recurring and 1.15 lakhs recurring—the very amount I have ventured to ask for female education. And when you turn to their own record what do you find? The account is to be found in the Government resolution on the report for the year ending December 1911. I quote the following from it :—

'The most serious feature of the returns for the year is the increase in

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dacoities. The number of cases for disposal rose from 562 to 674, and the number in which fire-arms were employed from 102 to 146. The majority of these dacoities were committed by members of the criminal tribes, adequate arrangements for whose control is one of the most urgent needs of the province. But, making every allowance for the difficulty of checking the depredations of these wandering gangs, the results in many districts are not creditable to the police, and there is ample evidence in the report that the vigorous use of the power at their disposal would have largely reduced the tale of dacoities. In fact, the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to find that the circle inspector is not infrequently ready to fold his hands in respect of dacoity, or even to ignore collusion between the subordinate police and the dacoits: not only so, but the authorities of one district often fail to give those of neighbouring districts the co-operation to which they are entitled. Thus in Mainpuri it is stated that the police 'have failed to deal with their own potential, 'criminals': in Farrukhabad 'there has been a most discreditable increase due almost entirely to retrogression in one inspector's circle, where there has been reason to believe that notorious and dangerous criminals, notably a man called Raghunath, were working in collusion with the local police'; in Etawah 'the root of the mischief lies in the inability or unwillingness of the circle inspectors and station officers concerned to get at real potential criminals like Digga Singh and others who are still at large and have been allowed to develop into dangerous gang leaders.' The districts of Unao and Rae Bareli 'have suffered from lack of proper supervision for some years past; serious crime has gone largely unpunished and very little use has been made of the preventive sections'; and in Cawnpore 'the conduct of the police of two circles in shutting their eyes to the criminal proceedings of *Kanjars* who were living in their jurisdiction is a serious blot on the year's work . . . For the ineffective supervision of circle inspectors there is only one remedy, viz. greater activity in the control of their subordinates by the gazetted officers of the police.' The Lieutenant-Governor after noticing the good services rendered by certain individual officers proceeds :— 'The record contained in the present report shows that there are a number of districts in which the Superintendents have shown themselves to be supine and wanting in energy. It rests with the Inspector-General and Deputy Inspectors-General to inspire such officers with a better sense of their duties and responsibilities. The Lieutenant-Governor is constrained to regard the existence of dacoity within these provinces on the scale reported in 1911 as a serious blot on our administration. It is the first duty of a civilized Government such as ours to preserve the countryside from the harassment that results from these predatory gangs of robbers.'

"Comment on this is superfluous, Sir John Hewett has here unmistakeably shown that the police not only failed to do their duty, but the subordinate officials actually degenerated into actual perpetrators and abettors of serious crime. Will it next be asked that a grant be made to teach these subordinates their proper sense of duty?"

"The report of 1912 has not yet been issued, but I have every reason

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to hope that it will reveal a better state of things under the able direction of the present Inspector-General the Hon'ble Mr. Straight. It must be noted that he took charge of his responsible office only towards the end of 1911—the great year of dacoities."

"It has to be conceded that the reclamation of the criminal tribes is in itself very desirable. It is impossible for me to go into details, and by referring to the special police grant I have simply said what at the first blush would strike an outsider. I do not pin myself down to that or any other particular item. All I mean is that by effecting necessary economies in the general expenditure on the police the small amount of Rs. 1.15 lakh could be easily saved out of the huge total allotment of Rs. 12410000.

"My alternative suggestion is that the money may be found by deducting the expenditure on civil works. Here again I will make no attempt to specify any particular item, but content myself with the general remark that some of the many new buildings determined on, for the ensuing year, may safely be left out of the programme. If we have been able to do without these buildings so far, we can easily do without them for another year."

"Before I sit down I must gratefully acknowledge the additional allotment of Rs. 70,000 by the Government of India to female education for the coming year and thank Your Honour for the contemplated appointment of a committee to consider the whole subject of primary education. But, as will have been seen from what I have already submitted, even this munificent grant added to the already liberal provision made in the estimates falls far short of the requirements of the case. Indeed, with the further grant that I ask for being thrown in we shall only be able to make a beginning. I would therefore beg your Honour to find more money if possible for the greatest and noblest work that can fall to any Government, viz. the uplifting of the women of the land it governs."

129. Written and Oral Evidence Recorded by Motilal Nehru Before the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, April 4, 1913.[1]

46441. (1) What is your experience of the working of the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination in England for the Indian Civil Service? Do you accept it as generally satisfactory in principle?

[1]*Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners, vol. IX; Minutes of Evidence relating to the Indian and Provincial Civil Services taken at Lucknow from 31st. March to 7th. April 1913, with Appendices* (London, 1914), pp. 325-37.

In 1912, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission on the Public Services in India under the chairmanship of Lord Islington. Other members were Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Ronaldshay, Herbert Fisher, Sir Valentine Chirol, G.K. Gokhale, Sir Abdur Rahim etc. The report of the Commission was ready in 1915 but was published in 1917.

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Subject to what I have to say later on, I accept the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination in England for the Indian Civil Service as generally satisfactory in principle.

46442. (2) What respects, if any, do you find the present system faulty in detail, and what alterations would you suggest?

The principal defect of the present system is that it has failed to secure to Indians their proper share in the administration of their own country. The alterations I would suggest, will appear from my answer to question (6). There are also certain other matters in which the present system is capable of improvement. These will be noted in answer to the questions relating to those matters.

46443. (3) Is the system equally suitable for the admission of "Natives of India" and of other natural-born subjects of His Majesty? If not, what alteration do you recommend?

With the alterations I have to suggest later on the system is equally suitable for the admission of "Natives of India" and of other natural-born subjects of His Majesty.

46444. (4) Do you consider that the combination of the open competitive examination for the Home and Colonial Civil Services with that for the Indian Civil Service is or is not to the advantage of Indian interests? Please give your reasons.

I would continue the combination of the open competitive examination for the Home and Colonial Civil Services with that for the Indian Civil Service except in regard to certain subjects which in my opinion should be made compulsory for candidates for the latter. The combination in other respects will be to the advantage of Indian interests as it will keep the tone and standard of the examination for the Indian Civil Service on a par with that of the other Civil Services of the Empire. Further it will be more desirable to keep as large a proportion of the British public interested in these examination as possible and this I apprehend will not be the case if separate examinations are held.

46445. (5) If you do not consider the present system of recruitment by an open competitive examination to be satisfactory in principle, please state what alternative you would propose.

In my opinion no system of recruitment to the public services is less open to objection than that of competitive examination and I strongly oppose any other alternative.

46446. (6) In particular, what would be your opinion regarding a system of simultaneous examinations in India and in England, open in both cases to all natural-born subjects of His Majesty?

The almost universal desire of the educated community for simultaneous examinations in India and England is in the circumstances very natural. Indeed the strict justice of the case requires that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held only in India. But there are practical difficulties in the way and these cannot, in my opinion, be surmounted by merely holding the examination in both countries. A time may come, and I hope and trust it is not far distant, when the Indian Universities will not turn out men in no respect inferior to the best product of Oxford and

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Cambridge, but it is not yet. This is conceded by the advocates of simultaneous examinations, every one of whom insists on an European training of the candidate after he is selected in India. As to this I have only to say that I do not believe in a person qualifying himself for a post after he has got it.

The fact, however, remains that the present system has practically shut out Indians from the Service and that there are and have been many deserving Indians who, if they had the same facilities as their fellow subjects have in England, would not only have found easy admission into the Service but succeeded in living up to its best traditions. It is obviously the duty of the Government to afford such men the facilities they require and the question is how can this be best done without in any way lowering the efficiency of the Service?

Substantial reform in this direction is so urgently required that though the proposed system of simultaneous examinations does not appeal to me in its entirety yet I would readily support it if no other scheme to meet the necessity of the case could be devised.

In my opinion the fairest way of meeting the legitimate aspirations of Indians without prejudice to any other class of His Majesty's subjects is to put them on a footing of equality with British candidates *before*, and not *after*, the competitive test is applied. In order to do this I would suggest the holding of a preliminary competitive examination in India open to all natural-born subjects of His Majesty. The syllabus for this examination will be similar to that of the Indian Civil Service examination but a lower standard of knowledge than is necessary for the latter will be required. I would fix the age-limits for this examination between 17 and 19 and would award a scholarship of £200 a year to each of the first 25 or 30 successful candidates on the list tenable for three years at an English University. The advantages of holding such an examination are—

(i) That it will be open to all natural-born subjects of His Majesty without any restriction, and thus effectually close the door against all complaint.

(ii) That it will be the fairest way of selecting the maximum number of the very pick of the Indian youths, year by year, who can hope to have a reasonable chance of success at the open competitive examination in England.

(iii) That selected candidates will proceed to England at the proper age to acquire those characteristics which are essentially British and the maintenance of which I consider absolutely necessary in the interest of good government in India.

(iv) That while after such selection the Indian candidates will be better able to fight their own battles with British candidates on equal terms, the latter will not in any way be handicapped.

I would prefer selection for scholarships by special examination to selection by Universities for three reasons, viz:—

1. A special examination, more particularly the viva voce part of it, will better bring out the real worth of the candidate and his aptitude for the work before him than an University degree.

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2. The minimum age at which one can take his degree at an Indian University being 20 years, some very desirable young men may by accident exceed that age before taking their degree and others equally desirable may be kept back by reason of being below 20.

3. Any latitude allowed to University in the matter of selection is bound to be resented, if for instance they pass over the top man of the year for some special reason.

The proportion of the cases I have referred to will, however, not be large and if for any reason a special examination is not considered desirable or practicable I would as an alternative accept selection of candidates for scholarships by the Syndicates of the various Universities in India.

A very great advantage of the plan proposed will be that not only would the Indian Civil Service thus obtain the very pick of the best brain and culture turned out each year in India, practically irrespective of the difficulty resulting from the traditional poverty of the classes, which furnish the best educated and most intelligent men, but even the probably small proportion of failures would not suffer in regard to their future career. The latter will at least be in possession of a degree from an English University and will not be worse off than they would be if they preferred to stay at home.

As regards the financial aspect of my proposal the cost would not be excessive. I have suggested the number of scholarships to be given away every year to vary between 25 and 30. Taking the latter figure the total number of scholarships awarded will after two years entail a recurring expenditure of £18,000 per annum which will be distributed over the whole of India. Having regard to the great importance of the matter and the fact that what is justly felt as a real grievance throughout the country would be effectually remedied, I do not think an additional expenditure of say £20,000 a year will be an excessive or unjustifiable burden on the public revenue.

It will be seen that my proposal only involves an extension of the present rule under which the Government grants a limited number of scholarships every year to distinguished graduates for the purpose of proceeding to Europe to complete their studies.

Should my scheme fail to commend itself to the Commission I would, as I have already said, support simultaneous examinations in India and England as the only possible alternative which will secure to Indians their just rights. My principal objection to these examinations is that Indians recruited in India without having previously undergone an European training would inevitably be regarded as inferior in status and qualifications to those recruited in England and this seems to me in the highest degree undesirable. The objection however can be minimized, if not altogether removed, by reducing the age limit for the competitive examination and enlarging the period of probation in England. It is my firm conviction, based on actual experience of the training of boys both in India and England, that the age at which "British characteristics" can be so acquired by an Indian as to come to him naturally is between 16 and 22. At 24 or 25 an Indian who has lived entirely under Indian influences is so

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deeply saturated with "Indian characteristics" that there is no room for any other. By saying this I must not be taken to overrate the characteristics of the one people and under-rate those of the other. I think the best of both is essential to a member of the Indian Civil Service, English or Indian, and if I lay stress here on British characteristics it is because I am dealing with the case of Indians. Besides, it must, in my opinion, be accepted as axiomatic that the British Administration in India must continue to have a pronounced British tone and character and too much stress cannot be laid on Indians acquiring that character as a habit, while they are capable of doing so. In order therefore to make simultaneous examinations acceptable I would reduce the age for the competitive examination from 22-24 to 19-21 and enlarge the period of probation in England for Indians from one to three years' which must be passed at one of the older Universities. In my opinion at least three years' training and experience in Europe is absolutely indispensable. This in effect is the scheme propounded by Mr. J.N. Gupta[1] (Bengal) in his evidence before the Commission with this variation, that I would have no fixed percentage of Indians, who must take their chance with others having regard to their position in the single list. I would on no account allow the Indian members of the Service to bear the stamp of inferiority which must necessarily be the case if a fixed number of Indians is admitted every year without reference to their position on the general list. Similarly, I would put no limit on the number of Indians entering the Service. Theoretically, there is no difference between two men who have come in by the same door and presumably possess the same qualifications. Practically there is no danger of Indians swamping the Service to the exclusion of Europeans, who are, and will always be, quite capable of holding their own in fair competition.

46447. (7) What would be your opinion with regard to filling a fixed proportion of the vacancies in the Indian Civil service cadre by Natives of India, recruited by means of separate examinations in India, or by means of separate examinations in each province or group of provinces in India? If you favour such a scheme what proportions do you recommend?

I am strongly opposed to any scheme of separate examinations for "Natives of India". In order to maintain the same level of efficiency in the service it is essential that there should be one and the same method of recruitment for all who seek entrance to it.

46448. (8) If you do not approve of simultaneous or separate examinations in India are you in favour of any system under which Natives of India would be selected in India for admission to the Indian Civil Service by means of (a) nomination, (b) combined nomination and examination, (c) any other method? If so, describe fully what system you would recommend. In particular do you consider it desirable that all classes

[1]Jnanendra Nath Gupta, served in Bengal and East Bengal and Assam as a civil servant; delegate of Government of India to International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1921; Chairman, Calcutta Corporation, 1922.

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and communities should be represented in the appointments so made? If so, how would you give effect to this principle? I am not in favour of (a) nomination, (b) combined nomination and examination, or (c) any other method than competitive examination, for reasons already given.

The representation of classes and communities is in my humble judgment a fetish which is mainly responsible for much of the unrest and discontent which has prevailed in the country in the past. It finds no place in either the Statute of 1833 or the gracious Proclamation of 1858, rightly looked upon by the people as the foundation of their rights and liberties. Had every class and community been told to expect nothing but strict justice on equal terms with other classes and communities the mutual recriminations of recent years would have been avoided and the time and energy spent in vilifying each other would have been utilized in ameliorating the social, moral, and economic condition of the country. Whatever may be said of communal representation in the Municipal and Legislative Councils of the Empire, or even in the filling up of posts in the subordinate services, the introduction of the rule in the recruitment of the highest Judicial and Executive Service of the land is thoroughly indefensible. Merit alone should be the guiding principle of admission to this Service as merit alone can secure the administration of that even-handed justice which is the strongest bulwark of the British Empire in India.

I am, therefore, strongly opposed to any scheme which seeks to introduce the principle of communal representation in the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service.

46449. (9) If you are in favour of a system for the part recruitment of the Indian Civil Service by Natives of India in India, do you consider that "Natives of India" should still be eligible for appointment in England?

I am not in favour of any system of "part recruitment" of the Indian Civil Service by "Natives of India" in India or elsewhere on any footing different to that on which other natural-born subjects of His Majesty are to be recruited. I have recommended simultaneous examination subject to the conditions stated above as an alternative in case my own scheme is not accepted, but in either case I would have only one list to select from and that in the order of merit. If there are Indians, and I hope there will be many, who go to England to prosecute their studies and choose to appear for the competitive examination held there, I see no reason why they should be told to go back to India and appear at the Preliminary Examination suggested by me or the simultaneous examination proposed to be held in India. There being no limit for Europeans there should be none for Indians.

46450. (10) Would you regard any system of selection in India which you may recommend for young men who are "Natives of India", as being in lieu of or as supplementary to the present system of promoting to listed posts of officers of Provincial Civil Service? If the former, what alteration, if any, would you recommend in the conditions governing the Provincial Civil Service?

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In so far as the Judicial line is concerned I would continue the "listed posts" which are now merged in the Provincial Service as heretofore, and abolish the rest in view of what I have to say in answer to question (18).

I recommend no change in the existing arrangement in regard to the Executive line.

46451. (11) Do you recommend any separate method of recruitment for the Judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service? If so, please describe the system which you would propose?

Members of the Indian Civil Service should, in my opinion, be required to elect for the Judicial branch within the first three years of their appointment. On such election they should be given jurisdiction to try civil suits usually heard by Munsifs and also criminal cases as Magistrates. No executive or police functions of any kind should thereafter be entrusted to them. When they rise to be Assistant Judges they should have the same jurisdiction on the civil side as a Subordinate Judge.

46452. (12) Are you satisfied with the present statutory definition of the term "Natives of India" in section 6 of the Government of India Acts, 1870 (33 Vict, c.3), as including "any person born and domiciled within the Dominions of His Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India, and not established there for temporary purposes only", irrespective of whether such persons are of unmixed Indian descent, or of mixed European descent? If not, state fully any proposals that you wish to make in regard to this matter.

I am satisfied with the present statutory definition of the term "Natives of India" but am not satisfied with the term itself. If "Natives of India" are henceforth called "Indians" it will be a graceful concession to Indian public opinion and will not affect the definition.

46453. (13) If the system of recruitment by open competitive examination in England is retained, state the age-limits that you recommend for candidates at such examination, giving your reasons.

I would adhere to the present age-limits if the scheme I have proposed in answer to question (6) is accepted, but would recommend reduction to 19-21 if simultaneous examinations are allowed to be held in India and England. In case of no change in the existing system I would keep the age-limits as they are. My reasons for this opinion will appear from my answer to question (6).

46454. (14) What in your opinion is the most suitable age at which junior Civilians recruited in England should commence their official duties in India?

I think 26 is the most suitable age at which junior Civilians recruited in England should commence their official duties in India.

46455. (15) What age-limits for the open competitive examination in England would best suit candidates who are Natives of India, and for what reasons? Do you recommend any differentiation between the age-limits for Natives of India and for other natural-born subjects of His Majesty?

I think 22-24 are the most suitable age-limits for the open competitive examination in England both for "Natives of India" and other natural-

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born subjects of His Majesty and I would make no differentiation in this respect.

46456. (16) What alterations, if any, do you recommend in the authorized syllabus of subjects and marks prescribed for the open competitive examination?

I would add Indian History and Hindu and Muhammadan Law, assigning 500 marks to each, to the authorized syllabus and make them compulsory in the competitive examination for all candidates who offer themselves for the Indian Civil Service. In my opinion it is essential for all members of the Indian Civil Service to have a thorough knowledge of Indian History. I would assign the same marks to Sanskrit and Arabic as to Latin and Greek.

46457. (17) Is any differentiation in the subjects for the open competitive examination in England desirable between candidates who are Natives of India and other candidates? If so, state them and give reasons?

I do not think any differentiation is necessary.

46458. (18) Do you consider it necessary that certain posts should be reserved by statute for officers recruited to the Indian Civil Service, and if so, what posts and for what reasons?

I would reserve the following posts for members of the Indian Civil Service:—

I Executive Branch.

(i) Memberships of the Board of Revenue.

(ii) Divisional Commissionerships.

These in my opinion are wholly unnecessary in provinces where there are Boards of Revenue, but if they are retained I would reserve them for members of the Indian Civil Service.

(iii) Collectorships.

With the exception of a few which may be set apart as prize posts for subordinate officers of proved merit and ability I would reserve all these for the Indian Civil Service.

By reason of their qualification and training the members of the Indian Civil Service would, in my opinion, be eminently fitted for the discharge of the responsible duties of the posts mentioned above. I do not think there is any other class of public servants in India who can be said to possess the same qualifications for those posts. I have provided for exceptional cases of individuals possessing the necessary ability by setting apart a few prize posts for them.

II Judicial Branch.

I would recruit District and Sessions Judges in the following proportion:—

Twenty per cent by promotion from the Provincial Service.

Forty-five per cent by direct appointment of barristers and vakils of not less than five years' standing.

This will secure a preponderance of trained lawyers which in my opinion is essential and will also do away with the necessity of having "listed posts" for members of the Provincial Service. I consider the

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proportion of 35 per cent for the Indian Civil Service to be adequate.

I do not recognize the necessity or desirability of the Indian Civil Service being represented as such on the High Court Bench, and am strongly opposed to any consideration based on the supposed claims of communities or services being allowed to weigh in the appointment of Judges of the highest courts of the country. No one has a vested right in these appointments and only such as are qualified by ability, experience, and character should find a place on the Bench of these courts. No Member of any Service can, in my opinion, have the training and the experience of a lawyer who has practised his profession with distinction and eminence before different Judges for a considerable number of years. The analogy of Continental methods of recruitment of Judges cannot hold good in India. So far we have advanced on British lines. The Bench and the Bar are permeated by British ideals and traditions and if we are to advance further it can only be on British lines. The great majority of High Court Judges should therefore come from among practising lawyers. It is these who have made the English Bench the admiration of the world. At the same time I would not ignore real worth and merit wherever it is found and for this reason would recommend the appointment of not more than two members of the Indian Civil Service, and not more than one member of the Provincial Service to the High Court Bench, if all the Judges of the High Court recommend by unanimous resolution that such appointment should be made. But I would not earmark any Judgeships of the High Court for any class, community or Service.

46459. (19) Do you consider that a minimum proportion of European subjects of His Majesty should be employed in the higher posts of the civil administration? If so, to what proportion of the posts included in the Indian Civil Service cadre do you consider that Natives of India might under present conditions properly be admitted?

I would make no distinction between European and Indian subjects of His Majesty. Any such distinction is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858. Fitness is the only test I would employ and as I have already pointed out European subjects of His Majesty would never be found lacking in numbers or fitness. It is therefore quite unnecessary to prescribe a minimum even if such minimum be considered desirable.

46460. (20) Do you accept as generally satisfactory in principle the present system under which Natives of India are recruited for posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre partly through the medium of an open competitive examination in England, and partly by special arrangement in India?

I do not approve the existing "special arrangements" and would recommend those I have mentioned in answer to question (18) instead.

46461. (21) Do you consider that the old system of appointment of "Statutory Civilians" under the Statute of 1870 should be revived, and if so, what method of recruitment would you recommend?

I am strongly opposed to the revival of the old system of appoint-

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ment of "Statutory Civilians". It has been tried and found wanting. No more experiments need be made.

46462. (22) If the system of recruiting military officers in India for posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre has been stopped or has never existed in your province would you advise its reintroduction or introduction, as the case may be, and if the system should be introduced or reintroduced, to what extent, in your opinion, should it be adopted?

The system of recruiting military officers for posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre has never existed in the province of Agra and I am not in favour of its introduction in future. It was in vogue in Oudh up till about 10 years ago and I do not think the people of Oudh are any the worse off without it. I am therefore not in favour of the system being reintroduced in Oudh.

46463. (23) Do you consider that such a system should be restricted to the recruitment of military officers, or extended to the recruitment of selected officers from other Indian Services?

It follows from my answer to the preceding question that I will have no selection of officers from the other Indian Services for posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre except as pointed out in my answer to question (18).

46464. (24) What is your opinion of the system by which certain posts, ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service, are declared to be posts (ordinarily termed listed posts) to which members of the Provincial Civil Service can properly be appointed?

I have dealt with this point in my answer to question (18).

46465. (25) Are you satisfied with the present rule which prescribes that Natives of India, other than members of the Provincial Civil Service or statutory civilians, may be appointed to one-quarter of the listed posts?

No, For reasons see my answer to question (18).

46466. (26) Are you satisfied with the system by which most of the inferior listed posts are merged in the Provincial Civil Service?

Yes. But I would gradually abolish the "listed posts" and include the "merged posts" in the Provincial Civil Service cadre.

46467. (28) Please add such remarks as you may desire to offer on any points relating to the system of recruitment for Indian Civil Service posts which are not covered by your answers to the foregoing questions?

I strongly advocate a complete separation of the executive and judicial functions of the Indian Civil Service. The two services should be separately recruited and no functions which strictly belong to the one should on any account be exercised by the other. Such separation is, in my opinion, the crying need of the country and no reform can be complete without it.

46468. (29) Do you consider that candidates recruited for the Indian Civil Service by open competitive examination should undergo a period of probation before being admitted to the Service?

I think it is very desirable that they should.

46469. (30) If so, how long, in your opinion should this period be, and what course of study should be prescribed for the probationers?

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I would fix the period of probation at two years and revert to the old course of study prescribed for the final examination of 1891 with the addition of the following subjects to the Law of India:—

1. Law of Mortgage and Transfer of Property.
2. Land Tenures in India and Rent and Revenue Laws.

I have proposed the desirability of making Indian History and Hindu and Muhammadan Law compulsory at the competitive examination for candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

If my proposal is accepted I would omit these subjects from the final examination but if it is not I would retain them.

46470. (31) Do you consider that any differentiation is necessary between the course of study for probationers who are Natives of India and the course prescribed for other natural-born subjects of His Majesty? If so, please state the special arrangements that you recommend?

I do not consider any differentiation necessary.

46471. (32) Do you consider that the probationers' course of instruction could best be spent in England or in India? Is your answer equally applicable to the case of natives of India and of other natural-born subjects of His Majesty?

The probationers' course of instruction in the case of "Natives of India" should be spent in England and in that of other natural-born subjects of His Majesty in India. For the latter, attendance at Indian Courts of law may *mutatis mutandis* be substituted for attendance at English Courts of law as required by the rules for the examination of 1891.

46472. (33) Do you think it desirable to start, at some suitable place in India, a college for the training of probationers of the Indian Civil Service, and possibly of other Indian services recruited in England?

It is very desirable to train probationers to which they are assigned and I do not think it will be advisable to start a college for the whole of India. Suitable arrangements should in my opinion be made with the Indian Universities and the existing colleges.

46473. (34) Do you think it desirable that each provincial Government should arrange for the training of probationers by suitable courses of instruction for the whole or portions of the first two years of service at some suitable centre?

This and the next question, as I understand them, overlap each other, and the term probationer seems to me to be used here in a sense different to that in which it is used in the previous questions. The answers I have already given relate to probationers before they enter service and for the training of these it would be desirable for Provincial Governments to make the necessary arrangements for the whole period of their probation at some suitable centre. The case of those who have already entered service is different and for these the best training in my opinion would be to attach them by turns to the High Court as judgment—writers and personal assistants to the Registrar, to senior officers in the executive and judicial services of the province and to the Legal Remembrancer, Government Advocates, and senior Government Pleaders. I would attach "Natives of

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India" to European members of the services last-mentioned and other natural-born subjects of His Majesty to Indian officers. The latter should be required to acquire facility in speaking the vernacular of the province as educated men and learn how to treat Indians with courtesy and consideration and how to avoid offending their feelings and prejudices. They should be expected to converse in the vernacular with the officer to whom they are attached and the latter should be instructed to insist upon this being done.

46474 (35). Are you satisfied with the present arrangements for the training of junior officers of the Indian Civil Service after they have taken up their appointments in India? If not, what change should, in your opinion, be introduced?

I have made my suggestions in answer to the previous question.

46475. (36) Do you consider that there has been any deterioration in the knowledge of the Indian languages possessed by members of the Indian Civil Service? If so, what are the causes? Are you satisfied that European members of the Indian Civil Service attain to an adequate proficiency in the study of the Indian languages, and, if not, how could this best be remedied?

I am not satisfied that European members of the Indian Civil Service attain to an adequate proficiency in the study of the Indian languages. Most of them come to the end of their career in India without acquiring even a rudimentary knowledge of the vernacular of the province in which they have spent their life-time. The reason of this is that with the spread of English education in the country there have been fewer and fewer opportunities for Europeans to converse with Indians in their own language. The old type of Hindu or Muhammadan gentleman who, without knowing a word of English, was the embodiment of true oriental culture, is fast dying out and the English-speaking man with English ways is taking his place. The European officer finds it necessary to speak the vernacular only when he comes in contact with the ignorant classes and as a consequence is out of touch with the style of language used by the upper classes. But the artificial barriers which exist between Europeans and Indians are in my opinion equally responsible for the existing state of things. What is required is a free inter-course between the two classes on equal terms. This will greatly depend on the treatment accorded to Indians by Europeans and no specific remedy can be suggested. The suggestion I have made of attaching young Civilians to experienced senior Indian officers will considerably improve matters. But the real solution of the problem must be left to the mutual efforts that are now being made and I hope will continue to be made in cultivating a better understanding between the two peoples.

For the present all that can be done is to encourage the study of books in modern colloquial Hindustani (both Hindi and Urdu) which are now numerous. I would institute an additional examination for all members of the Indian Civil Service in somewhat more advanced Hindustani than is now offered by junior Civilians in the higher standard examination and would hold this additional examination after 5 years' service. If this is decided upon the proper course of study can easily be determined.

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46476. (37) Please give your views as to what steps (if any) are necessary to improve the proficiency in the knowledge of law of members of the Indian Civil Service, distinguishing between recommendations applicable to all officers and to officers selected for the Judicial branch?

For the purpose of securing general improvement and proficiency in the knowledge of law in all members of the Indian Civil Service it is in my opinion enough to revert the old practice of 2 years' probation with the wider range of study I have already suggested. The special arrangements I consider necessary for officers selected for the Judicial branch have been indicated by me in my answers to questions (11) and (34).

46477. (38) Do you recommend any special course of study in law in India for officers selected for the Judicial branch?

It is very desirable that officers selected for the Judicial branch should keep up their study of law but this must depend on the inclination of individuals. I am not prepared to prescribe a course of study with a view to further examination but have, so far as appeared to me possible, made due provision to secure the necessary proficiency by widening the range of study for the final examination and introducing a system of training as Munsifs, Subordinate Judges, and Assistant Judges.

46478. (39) Do you recommend any special training in subordinate judicial posts in India for officers selected for the Judicial branch? If so, please give details?

Yes. I have given details in my answers to questions (11) and (34).

46479. (40) Is any differentiation desirable in a system of training after appointment in India between members of the Indian Civil Service who are Natives of India and other natural-born subjects of His Majesty? If so, please state the special arrangements that you recommend?

I do not think any differentiation is necessary except that "Natives of India" should receive their training under European officers and other natural-born subjects of His Majesty under Indian officers.

46480. (42) Is any differentiation necessary in regard to the probation and training of members of the Indian Civil Service who are Natives of India as between persons of unmixed Indian descent, of mixed European and Indian descent, and of unmixed European descent? If so, please state your proposals.

For purposes of probation and training I would put "Natives of India" who are of mixed European and Indian descent or of unmixed descent on the same footing as other natural-born subjects of His Majesty who are not "Natives of India". I have already stated my proposals in regard to each. Please refer to my answers to questions to (34) and (40).

46481. (45) Do you consider that the exchange compensation allowance, introduced in 1893, eligibility for which depends on nationality or domicile, should be abolished, and if so, under what conditions? Should such abolition apply to officers already employed or be restricted to future entrants?

I would abolish all invidious distinctions between members of the same services depending on nationality or domicile and allow increased salaries

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to the present recipients of exchange compensation allowance as well as to future entrants.

46482. (46) If abolition is recommended with compensation in the form of increased salaries, what is your opinion regarding the grant of a similar increase of salary to those members of the service who now draw no exchange compensation allowance?

I would have the same scale of salaries for all members of the same service whether they draw exchange compensation allowance or not.

46483. (47) Turning now to the case of the Statutory Civilians and officers of the Provincial Civil Services holding listed posts, do you approve of the arrangement by which they draw salary approximately at the rate of two-thirds of the pay drawn in the same posts by members of the Indian Civil Service? If not, what rates do you suggest for the various grades of the service?

I would increase the salary of Statutory Civilians and officers of the Provincial Service from two-thirds to three-fourths of the pay drawn in the same posts by members of the Indian Civil Service. But in cases where an officer of the Provincial Service is a member of the same Court as an officer of the convenanted service, e.g. the court of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, no distinction should be made and the same salary should be given to both.

Written Answers Relating to the Provincial Civil Service.

46484. (51) Please refer to Government of India Resolution No. 1046-1058, dated the 19th August 1910, defining the general conditions which should govern recruitment to the Provincial Civil Service, and reproduced as Appendix A. Are these conditions suitable, or have you any recommendations to make for their alteration?

The conditions stated in the Government of India Resolution cited in the question are not in my opinion suitable. I would recruit the Provincial Civil Service by open competitive examination. If the system of recruitment by competitive examination is good enough for the Indian Civil Service, I do not see why it should not be equally satisfactory for the Provincial Civil Service.

46485. (52) In particular, are the rules for the recruitment of the Provincial Civil Service in force in your province suitable, or have you any recommendations to make for their alteration?

The rules are not at all satisfactory. Recruitment by open competitive examination is the only safe alternative I can suggest.

46486. (53) Do you consider that recruitment for a Provincial Civil Service should ordinarily be restricted to residents of the province to which it belongs?

I think so.

46487. (54) Are all classes and communities duly represented in your Provincial Civil Service? Do you consider that this is desirable; and what arrangements do you recommend to secure this object?

There are endless squabbles going on between Hindus and Muhammadans on the subject of proper representation of the two communities in

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the Provincial Civil Service of these provinces. Each class complains that the other is over-represented and no end of statistics is called for from the Government at the meetings of the Local Legislative Council. I confess I am unable to say what the real fact is as the whole question is so annoying to me that I have never taken the trouble to go into figures. As I have already stated, I am strongly opposed to class and communal representation in the public service of the country. If however such representation is considered necessary, I would recommend that 75 per cent of posts be filled up by open competitive examination and the remaining 25 per cent by nomination after the results of the open competition are published. The nominations will, of course, be made with a view to adjust the proper proportion of the communities who have failed to secure their proportionate share at the open competition. In any case I would not allow the representation of any community in excess to the proportion it bears to the total population.

46488. (57) To what extent are the functions of the officers of the Executive and Judicial branches of your Provincial Civil Service differentiated? Is any change desirable, and if so, in what direction?

The only differentiation is that officers on the Civil side, *viz*, Munsifs, Subordinate Judges, Judges of Courts of Small Causes, and Assistant Judges, have no executive duties to discharge, while those on the Criminal and Revenue side, *viz*, Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates, have a curious jumble of functions to perform. As in the case of the Indian Civil Service, the complete separation of the executive from the judicial functions is urgently called for in the Provincial Civil Service also.

46489. (58) Are you satisfied with the present designation "the Provincial Civil Service"? If not, what would you suggest?

Yes.

46490. (59) Do you accept as suitable the principle recommended by the Public Service Commission of 1886-87, and since followed, that the conditions of the Provincial Civil Services as regards salary should be adjusted by a consideration of the terms necessary to secure locally the desired qualifications in the officers appointed? If not, what principle do you recommed?

Yes.

46491. (60) Are the existing rates of pay and grading in the Provincial Civil Service of your province adequate to secure the desired qualifications in the officers appointed? If not, what alterations do you recommend?

No. I would fix the starting salary of a Munsif or Deputy Collector at Rs. 300 and the maximum salary of a Subordinate Judge or Deputy Collector of the highest grade at Rs. 1,200 per month. Judges of Courts of Small Causes should have a salary of Rs. 1,500 per month. The present salaries do not attract the best available men.

46492. (61) Do you approve of the arrangement by which officers of the Provincial Civil Service holding listed posts draw salary approximately at the rate of two-third of the pay drawn in the same posts by members

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of the Indian Civil Service? If not, what rates do you suggest for the various appointments?

No. Please see my answer to question (47).

Oral Evidence

46493. (Chairman.) You are an Advocate of the High Court, Allahabad, and a member of the Legislative Council of these provinces?

Yes.

46494. You are also President of the United Provinces Congress Committee?

Yes.

46495. Your scheme for the further admission of Indians into the Service is to have a preliminary examination in India for candidates between the ages of 17 and 19, open to all natural-born subjects of His Majesty?

Yes.

46496. And then successful candidates, to the number of 25 or 30, would be awarded scholarships of £ 200 a year, tenable for three years, enabling them to go in for the competitive examination in London?

Yes,

46497. So that you would have at the University in course of time between 75 and 90 scholars?

Yes, in the third year and thereafter.

46498. The examination which you propose to hold in India for the scholarships is to be an open examination for the whole of India, is it not?

Yes, without restriction of any kind whatever; open to all the subjects of His Majesty.

46499. You are opposed to any form of nomination combined with examination?

I am strongly opposed to nomination of any kind.

46500. What is your main reason against combining preliminary nomination with an examination?

In my opinion nomination is simply an euphemism for favouritism. It may be that with certain people, with certain Selection Boards, so to speak, nomination may be very satisfactory, but the very principle involves the possibility of jobbery, and I would exclude it altogether.

46501. Can you not conceive any form of nominating Board which would be free from those vices?

I do not think it is impossible or inconceivable but I object to the principle.

46502. How many candidates do you anticipate would enter for your examination for scholarships, if you opened it to the whole of India?

In the beginning there would be a very small number, but I suppose as time goes on the numbers will increase.

46503. Why do you think there would be very few candidates at first?

It would require special preparation. As things exist now there are no opportunities for such special preparation. When the examination becomes established there will be institutions growing up all over the country

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where special facilities will be afforded for preparation for this examination.

46504. I should have thought that the fact that it was for the whole of India would have induced a very large number to have a try for it?

When I say that there would be a small number, I mean speaking comparatively. To begin with it would be a comparatively small number, but it will swell.

46505. The examination you propose is some-what on the lines of the Indian Civil Service examination, only a rather lower standard?

Yes.

46506. Of whom would you suggest that the examining board should consist?

It need not necessarily be subject to the Civil Service Commissioners. There might be examiners appointed from the various Universities.

46507. You say if this scheme is not accepted you would prefer simultaneous examinations, and you would like to see the age-limit reduced from 17 to 19, and three years probation in England to follow?

The age-limit which I have mentioned is a slip. I have handed in to the Secretary, I would make it 19 to 21. I put down 17 to 19 for the preliminary examination.

46508. Why have you changed the age?

It was not my intention. It was simply a slip.

46509. Would not the age of 19 to 21 come into conflict with the University course at years after he is 21?

In case there is a simultaneous examination at the age of 19 to 21, I would recommend three years probation in England.

46510. Do you set great store on that probation in England?

I do.

46511. I notice that you say, "I do not believe in a person qualifying himself for a post after he has got it". That rather implies that you regard the first examination as the main test?

Yes, I do. That is my proposal. My scheme I put first. In case it does not commend itself to the Commission, then I say the next best thing is simultaneous examinations.

46512. The principle would be the same for both?

Yes.

46513. Would you not set very great store on the training which the young Civilian should get after he has passed his first preliminary examination?

Yes; but I should like him to know that unless he passes his examination in England he will be liable to rejection. If he has got his appointment in his pocket I should not expect the same amount of work from him, as I otherwise would.

46514. Do you think that as many Indians would get in through the London examination at the age of 19 to 21 as get in now between the ages of 21 and 24?

I should think so. I should think that those who have got in so far under the present conditions would get in even if the age limit were reduced.

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46515. You say you are strongly against the representation of classes and communities in the Public Service. Do you not find any practical difficulties with regard to officers of one community being placed in districts inhabited by another community?

There is hardly any district in these provinces which is composed of one community only. There are generally both the communities, and there may be a preponderance of one community in one district and a preponderance of another community in another district; but I do not see that any difficulty would be occasioned by a Hindu, for instance, being appointed to a district where the preponderance was Muhammadans, and *vice versa*.

46516. Would you make any distinction in the matter of communal representation as between the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Civil Service?

No. I would not.

46517. You do not regard it as more important to consider that aspect with reference to the Provincial Civil Service than with reference to the Indian Civil Service?

I think it is equally wrong in principle to introduce communal representation in the Provincial Service and the Indian Civil Service.

46518. You yourself make certain provisions with regard to the Provincial Civil Service, and you say that 75 per cent are to be admitted by open competition and 25 per cent by nomination?

Yes, that is in case it is held that some sort of communal representation must be introduced. Even then I would have 75 per cent by the open competitive examination; and the balance after the examination. Any deficiency in any community might be made up out of the 25 per cent.

46519. You make that concession against your own better judgment?

It is against my own principle. If I am held to be wrong, and if some sort of communal representation is introduced, I should still have the greater majority coming in by the open competition.

46520. You are satisfied with the present statutory definition of the term "Natives of India"; but you would like to substitute the term "Indian"?

Yes.

46521. Would not this introduce a complication with regard to the members of the domiciled community?

I do not see how. They will all be Indians.

46522. Your alteration of title would not imply the exclusion of members of the domiciled community?

No, I would define "Indians" in the same sense as "Natives of India" and comprehend the same classes.

46523. You would gradually abolish the listed posts and include the merged posts in the Provincial Civil Service cadre. I do not quite understand what you mean by that. The merged posts are already included in the Provincial Civil Service cadre?

Yes.

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46524. Would you leave the present listed posts in the Indian Civil Service cadre?

I would obliterate the distinction between the merged and unmerged posts altogether, those that are merged posts are not listed posts at all. I would abolish the listed posts gradually; and when the listed posts are abolished there would be no more posts which are merged and posts which are not merged.

46525. Are you speaking of the posts merged in the Provincial Service, or listed posts?

I am speaking of listed posts as a whole. I would gradually abolish listed posts, and those which have been merged in the Provincial Civil Service cadre I would retain in that cadre.

46526. On the other hand, you would add a grade or two to the Provincial Civil Service?

Yes.

46527. A Rs. 1,000 and a Rs. 1,200 grade for Subordinate Judges?

Yes.

46528. Do you think that the Provincial Civil Service would appreciate that more than the present listed posts with the somewhat higher status attached to them?

I do not know what the Provincial Civil Service would think of it. My idea is to include in the Provincial Civil Service cadre the listed posts which are now reserved as special prizes. Those would be special prizes for the whole Service; and then there would be the Indian Civil Service posts which would ordinarily be reserved for that cadre. It was with a view to abolishing the listed posts that I have made this suggestion.

46529. It would simply mean this, that you would bring down the listed posts into the Provincial Civil Service instead of leaving them between the Provincial Civil Service and the Indian Civil Service?

Yes; I would allow the Provincial Civil Service men to be promoted direct into the higher Indian Service.

46530. When they are thus promoted would you give them the status of the Indian Civil Service officer without any reservation?

Yes.

46531. (Lord Ronaldshay[1]) The answers which you have given here represent the views of the United Provinces Congress Committee?

No; they represent my own views.

46532. Under your scheme for recruitment you anticipate that most of the Indian scholars whom you would eventually send to England to compete at the open examination would prove successful?

I cannot say as to what proportion of them would be successful, but the whole idea is to give them the same facilities as the people have in England.

46533. I rather gather from what you said in answer to question (6) that one of the great advantages of your plan would be that even the

[1]M.P. 1907-16; Member, Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, 1912-15; Governor of Bengal, 1917-22; Delegate to the Round Table Conference, 1930 and 1931.

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probably small proportion of failures would not suffer with regard to their future career and I gather from that you expect the great majority of your scholars would be successful in the open competition?

I do expect that they would be more successful than they are now. A greater proportion of them would be successful than at present. It is impossible to say what the proportion would be.

46534. (Sir Theodore Morison[1]) With regard to your answer to question (18), what would you do with the Judicial branch of the Service? I understand you would give 45 per cent of the District and Sessions Judgeships by direct appointment to legal practitioners?

Yes.

46535. Will you tell me how you would select those?

They would be selected by the High Court.

46536. By nomination?

Yes.

46537. Would not that be a euphemism for favouritism in that case?

In that case the High Courts know there are practitioners and the public knows them too. It would be a gross case of jobbery if they were to select third-rate men. They would not do so. You must depend upon the highest court of the country.

46538. The difference is that you think in the past the selections by the High Court have given great satisfaction; and nomination by such a body as that you do not object to?

I do not object to that. When it comes to official appointments being given to the Bar, that is the only way in which you can appoint members of the Bar. You cannot submit them to further examination.

46539. Do you accept it with reluctance?

That is the only possible way of doing it.

46540. Do you think it entails evils, though it is the only possible way?

For the selection of District Judges from among members of the Bar nomination is the only available means and therefore one has to resort to it.

46541. These proportions which you have proposed are unlike anything which has been suggested to us before; why do you give such an unusually small proportion to the Civil Service? You say 20 per cent by promotion?

Yes, that is one-fifth of the whole cadre.

46542. And you would give half to Barristers and Vakils?

Yes; because it will secure a preponderance of trained lawyers. I want trained lawyers to be District Judges. As I have said here, I do not believe that any member of any service can have the same training as the practising lawyer.

46543. Your point is that no Judicial Service can have the same training in the law as the practising lawyer?

Yes.

[1]Sir Theodore Morison, b. 1863; tutor to the Maharaja of Chhatrapur; Principal of the M.A O. College, Aligarh, 1889-1905; Additional Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1903-04; President, Muhammedan Educational Conference in 1904.

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46544. I gather that you do not attach any value, or next to no value, to the three years practice in the profession which is imposed upon Munsifs?

Yes, I do. Six years' practice would be double its value; and twenty years' practice, will have its own value.

46545. You give the smallest proportion to the people who start as Munsifs, and you give a much larger proportion to the members of the Civil Service who have never practised. Why do you do that?

Because of the other safeguards I have imposed, I mean the order safeguards for efficiency. If the suggestions I have made are adopted the result would be that men from the Civil Service would have received a probation in the High Court, as assistants to registrars, as judgment-writers, as Munsifs, and Subordinate Judges.

46546. In service, but not by actual practice?

I have attached them also to Pleaders and Government Advocates.

46547. (Mr. Abdur Rahim.) You have had much experience of the profession?

I have been thirty years in it.

46548. You say that your Bar is a competent Bar?

I think it is as competent as any other in any of the big centres.

46549. It has been said that you cannot get really good men for such posts as District Judges. What is your experience? You know the profession, and you ought to be able to tell us?

I think there are many men in Allahabad and Lucknow, who are perhaps too good for Judgeships. They would not take them up. But there are also men who would be very glad to take such posts, and would make good and competent Judges.

46550. But are they men of sufficient progress and standing in the profession?

Yes. You will find men of ten or twelve or fifteen years' standing who would be willing to accept such posts.

46551. Would they have sufficient practice? What practice would they have, valuing it by income?

Even if a man earns a large income he is likely to take a District Judgeship. He has prospects of pension, and there are other inducements.

46552. Do you think that men with between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 income would accept it?

Yes, I suppose so.

46553. Are there also men in the District Courts who could be considered competent for such places?

There are. I cannot say in every district, but in most districts there would be. For instance, in the districts of Cawnpore and Benares, and other places like that, there are many competent men.

46554. Do you think the executive experience which the Joint Magistrate has is of much use to him on the Bench?

I think it is of absolutely no use to him at all. On the contrary, it is a drag upon his judicial frame of mind.

46555. It is a drawback in what way?

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It is very difficult for him to get rid of the ideas, which he has conceived as an executive officer. I do not believe in the training of a civilian as a judicial officer while he is doing purely executive work. What is claimed for it is that he knows the people. But the truth about it, in my opinion, is that he does not know the people as they are: he knows them as they are presented to him. The one test of it is that he does not know the language of the country. I have not seen more than half a dozen in the whole course of my experience at the Bar who can speak the language of the country with any facility. They may be able to make themselves understood to *Khitmatgars*, but they would not be able to carry on an ordinary conversation either with a villager, because the villagers' language would be of a different style, or with very high class people who live in towns.

46556. Is it not a fact that when he goes out to camp touring in the district he comes into contact with villagers, and talks with them about their affairs, and gets to know them in that way?

I think when the touring time of the officer is divided between shooting and holding his *kutchery*. Shooting comes in very handy.

46557. In the *kutchery* he is trying cases?

When he finds time he tries cases. He tries them much as he would try them at headquarters if he was not on tour. I do not think he goes to the houses of the villagers to converse with them.

46558. Does he acquire some sort of judicial experience when he is working as a joint Magistrate, where experience would be of use to him as a Judge?

He does try some criminal cases.

46559. How far does the trial of criminal cases befit a man for a Judge's work?

He may do the work of a Sessions Judge, but not the work of a District Judge who tries civil cases.

46560. What would you say to a system by which in open competition one is encouraged to study in law a good deal by marks being assigned to that subject, and then say after six or eight years, one is sent to England on his study leave to study in the chambers of a Barrister and get called to the Bar if possible? Do you think that that would be a very substantial improvement on the present state of things?

A very great improvement.

46561. Do you think after such a study leave he will be able to enter upon his judicial duties at once?

After he has had work for some time, I would give him some civil suits.

46562. Then he must come back and begin as a Munsif and then as a Subordinate Judge?

Yes, he might have appellate jurisdiction later on.

46563. You lay very great stress upon the necessity of separating the executive and the judicial functions. You say that it is a crying need in these provinces?

Yes.

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46564. What sort of evil arises out of this combined system, in your experience?

I do not think there can be any question as to the principle of it.

46565. Apart from the question of principle, is it actually abused in practice?

One can only give instances in which injustice has resulted.

46566. In what direction?

In the direction of innocent persons being convicted and guilty persons being at large—never apprehended.

46567. You say there are miscarriages of justice due to this combined system?

Certainly.

46568. Has it led to any apprehension in the minds of the people that the Subordinate Magistrates do not try the criminal cases with impartiality on account of their being subordinate to the District Magistrate, who is the executive head officer of the district?

Generally speaking there is no such apprehension; but in some cases where it is supposed that the administration of the district is at stake the general impression is that the result of the case is not the result of the evidence, but for the good of the administration.

46569. Would there be more important police cases?

More especially *badmashi* cases.

46570. Are cases very frequent under section 110 here?

One hears frequently of them.

46571. What are the class of *badmashi* cases in which you say this power is abused?

I have not much experience of criminal cases. I have not laid myself out for that work for some years past; but they are the "bad livelihood" cases, as they are called, under section 110. A man has been reported upon privately. He incurs the displeasure of the lowest police officer. The police officer conveys it to his superior, and it reaches the Magistrate, and he is in the bad books of the Magistrate. The last thing against him ends in his conviction under this section, under which he need not be proved to have committed any definite offence.

46572. Are men of any position and aristocracy prosecuted under that section?

Some very important zamindars have been prosecuted. A *pardah-nashin* lady has been prosecuted to my knowledge who is closely related to the Maharaja of Rewah. She was tried, but the charge was subsequently withdrawn. The charge was for inciting a breach of the peace. It was a case of security for keeping the peace.

46573. That is under another section, section 107?

Yes.

46574. Is that section also brought into request very much?

Yes. those are the two sections which are very much used.

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46575. (Mr. Sly[1].) Were you born in the United Provinces?

Yes.

46576. What is your race or caste?

I am a Kashmiri Brahman. I was born in Agra, and so was my father before me, and my grandfather.

46577. You were speaking about the work of the Collectors in camp; have you been with a Collector when he has been in camp?

I have several times visited a Collector when he has been in camp.

46578. As a Visitor?

No, on business.

46579. Have you appeared in cases before Collectors when they have been in camp?

Not only in cases, but what are called executive things; seeing them in connection with those sort of things.

46580. Have you spent some days with them in camp?

No. I have been there for a day,or for some hours.

46581. When they go shooting, do you think they have to know anything of the language for that purpose?

The language of the birds, perhaps!

46582. But not the language of the *shikaris*?

They know enough for that. I do not mean to say that they cannot express themselves to the *shikari* or to the *khansama*.

46583. Does the *shikari* talk a different language from the language of the country?

The *shikari* talks very good Hindustani, no doubt. They can express to the *shikari* their intention of going out for the shooting; and perhaps they can name the animal that they want to shoot. It does not necessarily follow, if the *shikari* knows Hindustani, that the man who speaks to him knows the same amount of Hindustani.

46584. In your scheme for the recruitment of District and Sessions Judges, you have allowed 20 per cent to the Provincial Civil Service?

Yes.

46585. Do you know how many District Judges there are in these provinces at the present time? I think the Civil List shows that there are 28?

There has recently been some increase. I think the number is 31.

46586. You want 20 per cent of these posts to be listed?

Yes.

46587. That would give you about six, would it not?

Yes.

46588. At present they have got eight listed in the Provincial Civil Service?

That is after I wrote this

46589. Do you wish those posts taken away from the Provincial Civil Service or not?

[1]Sir Frank George Sly, b. 1866; Commissioner of Berar, 1908; Inspector-General of Agriculture, 1904-5; Member, Royal Commission on Indian Public Services, 1912; Member, Franchise Committee, 1918-19; d. 1928.

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No.

46590. You would still leave them eight listed posts?

Yes. They have not been given; they have been set apart.

46591. Do you desire that they should now be taken away from the Provincial Civil Service under your 20 per cent rule, or would you prefer the present system?

That is only a rough proportion, which I have given, in order to indicate the preponderance of the members of the Bar, and the preponderance of the members of the Civil Service over the members of the Provincial Civil Service. That was the idea. I do not stick to 20, or 35, or 45 per cent. It may be 33, or it may be 22 per cent.

46592. (Mr. Mac-Donald[1]) With reference to the combination of the Home and Indian Civil Service competition you say, "The combination in other respects will be to the advantage of Indian interests, as it will keep the tone and standard of the examination for the Indian Civil Service on a par with that of the other Civil Services of the Empire". As a matter of fact, when these examinations were separate, was not the Indian Civil Service regarded as the superior competition? You do not know when the combination took place?

I am not aware of that.

46593. Do you think that your second argument in favour of keeping them together in this way as it keeps up the British interest in the examination, is a sound one?

My idea was that if the Civil Service examination was separated from the other services, the Home and Colonial, that section of the British public who are interested in the latter examinations would lose touch with the former.

46594. Do you take the view that it is very desirable that the men who come out here should really be interested in India, and not merely be interested in making a living?

Certainly.

46595. So, to that extent, would not that point rather to the old custom of having the two examinations?

My whole object in putting that down was, that if the examinations were held together the field of likely persons who might come out to India would be enlarged, and persons who might possibly not think of coming out to India might, on account of this combination, do so, and that they would really be interested in the country. In this way India would have men coming out here interested in the country.

46596. You would not extend your field of selection so wide?

A large percentage would consist of people who are not interested in the country at all. They would sit for another examination, and failing to pass that examination would take other Indian appointments.

46597. If that is the effect of the combination, may I take it that you would be opposed to the combination?

[1]Ramsay MacDonald, b. 1866; first Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1923-24 and 1929-31; d. 1937.

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Certainly; if that is the effect.

46598. You give us a scheme for scholarships and so on. Have you any objection to this sort of method; that you have your simultaneous examination at the earlier age, and then send your successful men home to England for a two, or perhaps a three years' training, and then at the end of that period have a very stiff test examination: letting it be clearly understood that those men who did not come up to a high standard in that test examination would have to get appointments somewhere else, either in the Provincial Civil Service or elsewhere?

The only objection to that is that you would make a differentiation between Englishmen and Indians.

46599. The Englishman would go through exactly the same process?

I would have no objection.

46600. You would have to lower the standard of examination?

You are not dealing with men of 22; you are dealing with young fellows of 18 or 19. You have a competitive examination: send your men home for a thorough training in Indian subjects, then test them very severely upon Indian subjects and make provision for any that should fail?

That, in effect, would be the preliminary examination which I am suggesting here.

46601. Your preliminary examination under that scheme would be the simultaneous examination?

Yes.

46602. Have you any strong objection to that?

No; I would not have any strong objection to that.

46603. This is not the official evidence of the United Provinces Congress?

No. That was handed in by Mr. Malaviya.

46604. They have not considered this?

No.

46605. Although it is not their official evidence, it does not mean that they have rejected it?

No.

46606. You are so intimately associated with them and you come with different evidence, is the reason why I am asking you the question?

I should have had no difficulty in presenting the Congress Note, had it not been for the fact that the Commission kindly allowed Mr. Malaviya to appear, and hand it in himself. There is one difference, however, that I put simultaneous examination after my preliminary examination. There is no other point of difference between my memorandum and the memorandum of the Congress.

46607. (Mr. Madge[1]). You think that justice requires that competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held only in India and you think that Englishmen desiring to compete for it should come out here?

[1]Walter Culley Madge, b. 1841; President, Anglo-Indian Association; Member, Viceroy's Legislative Council; Member, Royal Commission on Indian Public Services, 1912.

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I say that would be the strict justice of the case.

46608. After your preliminary examination you propose scholarships of £200 a head and you give the total expenditure at £18000 which means rather over 2½ lakhs a year. Do you think that expenditure would be justifiable as realised from the tax-payers of this country in the interests of the candidates?

I think so. I say it is not excessive in my opinion.

46609. You have already said that you think most of them would succeed?

Yes.

46610. What grounds have you for saying that?

Because they would be the pick of the country. They would not be able to go on the off chance of getting ready for the examination in England.

46611. Witnesses have told us that the majority of Indian students going to England, exposed as they are to temptations with a different system of living, have turned out bad bargains; although your men may be intellectually very superior men it does not prove that they are morally capable of withstanding the temptations. Do you think that most of them will succeed in spite of those risks?

Yes. Some of them might turn out afterwards to be simply bad bargains. If so many people holding scholarships were sent I should make provision to guard against their going to the bad.

46612. You say, in answer to question (11) "Members of the Indian Civil Service should, in my opinion, be required to elect for the Judicial branch within the first three years of their appointment". Do you think they would have gained sufficient experience of the country in their joint offices to be good Judges afterwards?

I think their minds would be sufficiently free from executive prejudice and bias during the first three years.

46613. (Mr. Tudball) At the end of your answer to question (18) you say, "At the same time I would not ignore real worth and merit wherever it is found, and for this reason would recommend the appointment of not more than two members of the Indian Civil Service, and not more than one member of the Provincial Service to the High Court Bench, if all the Judges of the High Court recommend by unanimous resolution that such appointment should be made". Why have you used the word "unanimous"?

I mean, there should be no substantial difference of opinion between the Judges.

46614. "Unanimous" would mean that the opinion of six Judges would not avail against the opinion of one. Supposing one said "No," what would happen?

The man should have the appointment.

46615. Would it not be better to substitute a substantial majority, say two-thirds, or some-thing like that? It is rather hard that a man's future career should be in the hands of one man?

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I would not mind making that alteration. Instead of "unanimous" I would substitute "substantial majority".

46616. You have stated that in your experience five or six civilians speak the language fluently. Do you know how many members of the Civil Service have obtained degrees of Honour and High Proficiency in the language?

I do not attach any value to those degrees.

46617. Practically you attach no value to a regular study of the language?

What I state here is a regular study of the language. I have given the course of study I suggest. I can say with perfect confidence that in the whole course of my life I have only met two Englishmen who could speak Hindustani as an Indian.

46618. The pronunciation is difficult. The great difficulty for the European is to get a good pronunciation?

Yes.

46619. Is that the standard you would demand?

I have known people who have been 25 years in the country, and yet they do not know the ordinary conversational style of Hindustani. That is to say, what I talk in my house, or any other Indian gentleman would talk in his house.

46620. Do you not think that they know enough to understand the evidence of witnesses given before them?

That they follow with some assistance.

46621. Can an Indian who is a resident in the Western district of these provinces, say Tappal in Aligarh, understand a resident in Gorakhpur when he speaks?

Not on the first day, but on the second day he would be able to understand him altogether. I have an example which is present to my mind. I went for the first time in my life to Gorakhpur to conduct a case there. On the first day I did not understand the language at all, the sort of dialect of Hindustani which was spoken there. After five or six days, when I came back to Allahabad, I could not get rid of that dialect, and I found myself speaking that same dialect, and the people were all laughing at me.

46622. You are taking a special intellect with a special instance. That would hardly be the case of the average Indian in the Aligarh district?

The words are the same: it is only the way in which they are used, which makes it a little different.

46623. Do you think a want of knowledge, as you put it, means failure?

When it is claimed for the Indian Civil Service that the executive functions they discharge give them a prior claim for Judgeships, I say that the claim of the Bar rests upon a higher footing, work before Judges of the High Court, and work in all sorts of cases, civil, criminal, and everything else. Executive work is absolutely of no value at all to a man who has to be a District Judge and who has to exercise purely judicial functions.

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46624. You do not believe that there is a single officer in the service who has spent his evenings out in camp in the chaupal of the villages?

I do not mean to say that.

46625. Would you be surprised if I quoted you something like three or four dozen men who to my personal knowledge do so?

I do not deny that; but the whole question is, what is the opportunity which an officer gets of knowing the country by doing so?

46626. (Mr. Fasih-ud-din.[1]) What is your opinion about the present prospects of the Executive branch or the Provincial Civil Service, do you think they are good, and do you think they admit of any improvement?

I suppose they do admit of improvement.

46627. You say here, and probably rightly so, that considering the peculiar conditions of India the post of Collectors should ordinarily be reserved for Europeans, and that only a few posts should be given to deserving men of good family; and you advocate that 20 per cent of the posts of District Judge should be given to the Judicial Service. What opening do you propose for members of the Executive branch in that case?

I would give them the prize posts spoken of here.

46628. In the Judicial branch you specify 20 per cent posts. Would you not be more definite about the openings for the Executive Service?

I should be glad to see the prospects of the Executive Service improved. I do not think, so long as the present system of recruitment by nomination exists, that I should widen the door of admission for the members of the Executive Service into the higher appointments.

46629. Are you aware of the fact that this system of competition for the Provincial Service was started some time ago and given a trial for six years and that it attracted only two castes, the Brahmans and the Kayasthas, and that it had to be abandoned?

Why should it be abandoned for that reason?

46630. Because it attracted some people who were not considered to be very deserving?

Who did not consider them deserving?

46631. The Government?

If the Government does not like that system, and wishes to pick and choose from among the successful candidates, it is nomination with a vengeance! It is not competition at all.

46632. Have you seen the reasons given by Government for discontinuing the system?

They say it has failed.

46633. They give certain reasons: they do not say so without giving a reason?

If I know those reasons I will be able to give my opinion about them.

46634. Are you aware that the Courts of Deputy Magistrates are crowded by pleaders who are LL.B.s and Vakils of very good standing

[1]Fasih-ud-Din, Member, U P. Legislative Council, 1923; re-elected, 1926; Independent Member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1937.

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and respectability, and that the old Mukhtear class is now dying out?

My own experience is that as soon as a man begins to pick up work on the civil side he chucks up the work on the criminal side in disgust.

46635. You have never worked as a criminal lawyer?

In my early days I have, and even now, I am consulted in many important cases, though I do not actually appear.

46636. I am talking about the mufassal pleaders.

No. I do not appear before District Magistrates.

46637. I am talking about legal practitioners in the mufassal. Do they not appear indiscriminately before the Subordinate Judge and the District Magistrate?

Some of them do.

130. Resolution Regarding Additional Grants to Girls' Schools and Classes for Lady Teachers.[1]

"The reception which my resolution has met at the hands of the Council and specially at the hands of the Hon'ble Mr. Burkitt leaves me nothing to desire The Hon'ble Khwaja Ghulam-us--Saqlain[2] no doubt threw a bait to me, but I refuse to swallow it. On the contrary I accept the sound advice of my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal and of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali[3], who in fact expressed my own feelings when he said that I would be satisfied with any substantial provision for female education, and that it was not necessary that it should be in the form I proposed. Now, it will be clear to the Council from what I said in moving my resolution, that what I wish is that His Honour should extend as much help as he can, for the real good of the country, to this branch of education. The announcements which have just been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Burkitt are very important and I fully appreciate them in the circumstances pointed out by him. The first point of importance made by him is that if a larger amount be given than there is at present, there would be no means at the disposal of the Government to apply it. It may be observed that I anticipated this objection to a considerable extent and my answer to it was that such grants would be useful in opening training

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 196-97.

[2] Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, b. 1870; served in Hyderabad, 1896-1902; took a prominent part in the anti-Nagri Resolution agitation, 1900; started a journal *Asr-i-Jadid*, 1903; founder Member, All-India Muslim League, 1906; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1913-15; d. 1915.

[3] Syed Raza Ali, b. 1882; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1912-25; gave evidence before the Islington Commission, 1913 and the Southborough Committee, 1918; led the Khilafat agitation in Allahabad, 1919-20; sat on the Council of State 1921-26; President, All India Muslim League, 1924; appointed Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, 1935.

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classes and new model schools for girls. It is very gratifying to know from the Hon'ble Mr. Burkitt that something has been done in each of these departments and that no less than 6 training classes have actually been opened. But I will ask the Government to consider the question as to whether there is or is not scope for opening more training classes. I recognize that the opening of normal schools is a very expensive matter and the experiment may possibly not prove a success at the start. But in the case of training classes I have reason to believe that they have been tried in other parts of the country and have proved a success. There is no reason why they should not be successful here as well. Again, to come to the most important point, namely, the scarcity of teachers which has been noticed by the Hon'ble Mr. Burkitt. As to that, I would only make one suggestion. I do not know if it has been tried to import teachers from the more advanced provinces, as was recommended by the Committee in 1909. I must say that the reforms which have been accomplished in the past have to the extent to which they have been accomplished been very satisfactory, and I am grateful for the reforms that are now contemplated for the future. I may be more optimistic than the rest, but I hope that the opinion expressed by my honourable friend the Judicial Secretary that it will take time before the amount, which has already been placed at the disposal of the Government can be utilized for this branch of education, may not turn out to be quite correct, because I am firmly convinced of the necessity for more funds. It is unnecessary for me to go into details, but I have no doubt that the Committee which is to be formed will find various ways of spending this money. Now, some honourable members have objected to that part of my resolution where I said that the money ought to come from the police. The fact is that I should not have said a word about the police had it not been necessary for me under the rules to suggest a corresponding decrease in one department if I proposed an increase of expenditure in another. Now, obviously the department which spends the largest amount of money is the police, the budget for which on the expenditure side runs into eight figures, and one naturally turns to see if any saving could be effected there; and when you turn to that you are naturally led to examine what useful work the police have done. I took care, as far as I could, to guard myself against criticizing the present administration or past of the police in my own words and therefore used the words of the responsible pronouncement made by the Government."

131. Resolution Regarding Executive Council in the United Provinces.[1]

"The resolution before the Council illustrates a natural phenomenon and involves an irony of fate. The question of the Executive Council has

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 298-99.

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been looming large on the horizon of these provinces for close upon a century, and the natural phenomenon it illustrates is that the further we have advanced the further has the horizon receded from us, and so has the Executive Council. The irony of fate it involves is that we have always been on the point of getting an Executive Council but somehow or other we are to-day as far from or as near to it as we were in the year 1833, and this in spite of practical unanimity on the subject in high official quarters, public bodies and almost every section of the community. When I say practical unanimity in high official quarters, I am cognizant of the fact that high authorities like Lord Curzon, Lord MacDonnell and Sir John Hewett have in the past opposed an Executive Council being created for these provinces, but honourable members will remember that at the discussion which took place in the House of Lords on the question of the new province of Bihar, Lord Curzon expressed the opinion that if an Executive Council was given to Bihar there would be no reason whatever to withold it from these older provinces. Now that Bihar has got its Council, the case for the United Provinces becomes unanswerable on Lord Curzon's own showing, and I am not aware of anyone who was more strongly opposed to the reform than Lord Curzon. It must, therefore, be taken that there is now complete unanimity in favour of Council Government in these provinces.

"It is too late in the day to raise the question of the respective merits of Government with and without a Council. The principle that Government with an Executive Council is preferable has been accepted both in England and in India and I mean no disrespect when I say that personal Government is an anachronism in the year of grace 1913.

"The honourable mover has given the history of the question, and I shall not be justified in taking up the time of the Council by traversing the same ground. There is one observation, however, which I should, with Your Honour's permission, like to make in regard to the charge that the whole outcry for an Executive Council is based on the selfish object of providing another high post for an Indian. The honourable mover has already pleaded guilty to the charge, but my plea is one of confession and avoidance. I confess to a feeling of great satisfaction at the prospect of one of my countrymen being associated with the executive government of these provinces, but I deny that it is based on selfish motives. On the contrary it is on the very face of it a most generous desire, because it is certain that for one Indian there will be two Europeans on the Council and surely it is not selfish to ask for one high post when we are willing to give away two of the same importance and carrying the same emoluments. I do not agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali that the public will be satisfied if an Executive Council is created without an Indian member."

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132. Resolution Regarding the Prevention of Minor Boys and Girls from Being Turned into Beggars or Sadhus, September 15, 1913.[1]

"The members who have preceded me have made it quite clear that the evil of which the honourable mover complains of is a real and grave one, and it is not my intention to trouble the Council with more than has already been said to make out that it is a real danger. It is only with reference to the remarks made by the last speaker, the Hon'ble Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, that I wish to make one or two observations. The question appears to be whether it is within the province of this Government to devise the necessary means to extinguish evils which exist. Now, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sahib was pleased to say that there has been no social legislation ever since the days of the late Raja Rammohun Roy,[2] and that in fact he suggested it would be rather going out of the way for a Council like this to go into the matter although he ended by supporting the resolution of my honourable friend. The only reason why I stand up is to state in a few words that I do not agree with that view. So far as the attitude of this Government is concerned, at least so far as was disclosed in the answer given by the Hon'ble Mr. Hose[3] to the question of the honourable mover, the attitude of the Government of Sir John Hewett appeared to me to be, in the first place, that all reforms of this nature must begin with the people, and secondly, that the evil complained of being of such general character that it really prevailed throughout the whole of India, it would not be within the province of the Provincial Council to legislate upon the matter. It was not contested even then that the matter was of such a social character that no legislative council would take it into consideration except by the consent of the people concerned. Now I submit that my view of the matter is that it is more a matter for the Government to take into consideration than for society at large. It is an understood rule of all civilized Governments that minors are the wards of the State, and if there are any practices prevalent in the country which have a tendency to corrupt their morals or to demoralize them, or make them unfit to be worthy citizens, it is the first and the foremost duty of the Government to take them in hand and, so far as it lies in their power, to stop those malpractices. I submit that it is an existing rule in all civilized countries but my honourable friend should not come under that

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 527-28.

[2] b. 1772; prominent socio-religious reformer; established Brahmo Samaj 1828 and did pioneering work in social reform; eminent pamphleteer, journalist and author; well-versed in English, Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin; launched crusade against social evils in Hindu society; helped in the abolition of sati, promoted education among women and favoured widow-remarriage, fought against child-marriage etc.; the title of Raja was bestowed by the Mughal Emperor in 1830; visited England and submitted his evidence on condition of India to the Board of Control; d. 1833.

[3] John Walter Hose, joined I.C.S. 1884; served in North-West Province and Oudh; appointed Registrar, High Court 1894; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1905; joined India Office in 1916.

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rule. It is true that society can help in working the rule, but society left alone without the help of legislation can do practically nothing. It can only declare itself, I submit, as it has done to-day in this Council, and there should not be any fear in this Government of any religious feeling being wounded when this resolution finds among its supporters such orthodox Hindus as the honourable mover, the Hon'ble Maharaja of Balrampur[1] and others who have spoken. So that, so far as the function of the Government is concerned, it is not merely a thing which the Government will be doing to effect a social reform, but it is a thing which comes within the purview of the legitimate action of the Government. Now as to the matter being of a general character affecting the whole of India, it is true that we cannot root out the evil entirely from the whole country by any legislation we may arrive at in this Council, but I see no reason why we should not take the initiative. If other provinces are not quite alive to the evil which is complained of, there is no reason why we should shut our eyes to it, and that being so, I submit that it will be a proper thing for this Council to take this in hand and to give effect to such reformation as is recommended by the committee which is asked for by my honourable friend. At least so far as these provinces are concerned, I submit that the modest demand made by my honourable friend may meet with Your Honour's acceptance."

133. Resolution Advocating Additional Seats in the Legislative Council for Representatives of the Landed Interest, December 2, 1913.[2]

"I am afraid I cannot congratulate the honourable members on the turn they have given to this discussion. The proposal before the Council as put by the honourable mover was, or at least looked, an innocent one. No doubt the honourable mover indulged in a certain amount of self-praise of himself and his community. Other members who do not belong to that class might well have left him in the enjoyment and the consciousness of the happiness which it gave him for having collected all the testimonials given from time to time by great men to his community. In any case the attitude adopted, both by my learned friend the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Hon'ble Shaikh Shahid Husain,[3] is hardly the attitude with which the question should have been approached. I

[1]Maharaja Sir Bhagwat Prasad Singh, b. 1879; President, British Indian Association of Oudh; Member, Legislative Council, U.P.; Honorary Fellow, Allahabad University; Chairman, Balrampur Municipality.

[2]*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 716-17.

[3]b. 1878; Member, Provincial Legislative Council, 1909-16; Secretary, British Indian Association, 1914; joined the Liberals in founding Lucknow Aman Sabha, 1921; Chairman of Education Committee of the Lucknow Municipal Board and Director of the Upper India National Bank Ltd.; d. 1924.

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quite agree with my friend the Hon'ble Munshi Gokul Prasad[1] in the view he has taken. He has informed the Council that he himself has some landed interests, and I may inform the Council that my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, who had been too modest to say so himself, is also a gentleman who owns considerable landed property as a member of a joint family. Well, we have at least this satisfaction amongst those who can themselves or, in the words of my friend the Hon'ble Shaikh Shahid Husain, are the so-called middle class, that they are not particularly anxious to put forward their claims of natural leadership upon the ground of their being landed magnates or owning landed property. In any case, as I began, I will not allow myself to indulge in the recriminations which have to a certain extent passed between my two friends the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Hon'ble Shaikh Shahid Husain. I would put my case on the same ground as my friend the Hon'ble Munshi Gokul Prasad has put it. There is no doubt that the desire for larger representation of an already over-represented body, when it proceeds from one of that body, is easily accounted for, and we need not go into any other reasons and compare one body with other bodies of persons. It is enough that the zamindars are not inadequately represented, whether elected by zamindars or elected by divisions or municipalities. The Hon'ble Munshi Gokul Prasad's calculation is that there are 14 such members on the Council. My calculation was 18. But taking my friend's calculation to be right, out of a council of 47 it cannot be unfair to say with regard to common sense that the number is too few.

"Now, where is the occasion for the resolution which has been so ably put by my learned friend? If it is a fact that the zamindars are adequately represented; that their interests are in safe hands: then why institute comparisons between them and other classes of people in these provinces and other provinces where they are not perhaps similarly situated? Your Honour, we have the unique distinction of having a Ruling Prince and the son of a Ruling Prince as members of this Council, and, as was said by my learned friend the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, these members are strong enough to take care, not only of themselves but of the interests of their class. If, however, they are unable to do this, I quite agree with my friend in saying that the case must be a hopeless one which wants more supporters notwithstanding that it has so many on this Council. In any case the issue is whether in this Council the zamindars are or are not adequately represented. If they are not they are entitled to have more, and I put it to the mover whether he does not consider that his interests and the interests of the landed classes as a whole are adequately represented. He says in his speech, that there were three or four who had got in otherwise than by the votes of the zamindars. I do not think my friend took the trouble to make a correct calculation. Was he not aware that certain honourable members who had not put forward a claim to be classed as zamindars were nevertheless zamindars, though not zamindars

[1]b. 1867; joined service as Munsif; President of Kayasth Pathshala, 1905-14; Puisne Judge, High Court, Allahabad 1921-24; Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University for some time.

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of his magnitude. Still they are zamindars and pay a good deal of Government revenue. My own calculation is that there are 18 such. But, whatever the number may be, it is certainly more than 3 or 4 as my friend says. That being the case, I ask the Council to come to a conclusion upon this point merely on that and not take into consideration any of the comparisons which have been instituted by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Hon'ble Shaikh Shahid Husain and with these remarks, Sir, I oppose the resolution."

134. Views on the Budget, 1913-14.[1]

"I heartily join in the general chorus of appreciation which has greeted the Hon'ble Mr. Pim.[2] The care and ability bestowed by him on his first budget are so obvious that it is not a mere conventionality to congratulate him on the eminently satisfactory result of his labours. While our thanks are due to him for the clear exposition of our financial position, we are indebted to Your Honour and to the Government of India for what strikes me as the chief characteristic of the budget, viz. the distinct vein of sympathy which runs through the maze of figures contained in it. No budget can be so perfect in all its details as to command universal approval, and the one presented by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim is no exception to the general rule. It is a trite saying that Governments, like individuals, have to cut their coat according to their cloth. But the individual is often more successful than the Government in producing a smart well-fitting garment. Somehow or other the Government coat never fits exactly, and in the opinion of members who are not officials it always wants considerable taking in here and letting out there. This in the very nature of things is unavoidable, but taking the budget as a whole it cannot fail to impress the most casual observer with the liberal spirit which runs through it. I do not of course mean that adequate provision has been made for everything. The Hon'ble Mr. Pim himself does not claim to have achieved such an impossibility. But I thankfully accept what has been given as a promise of better things to come.

"The subject of the provincial settlement is of perennial interest in the Council, and some of the members who have preceded me in drawing attention to it followed the precedent of previous years. It is not a mere customary thing to say at budget debates that we should be allowed the same share of our own revenues as the other provinces enjoy. It is with us an article of faith binding on all members of this Council, past,

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1913* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 383-88.

[2] Alan William Pim, joined Indian Civil Service, 1894; served in the United Provinces as Secretary to Government, 1912; author of a monograph on woollen fabrics.

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present and future. Our claim rests on the solid rocks of justice and self-respect, and we shall continue to press it until it is allowed. The history of the question is too well-known to require repetition. Your distinguished predecessor fully shared our views and strongly supported our claim. It was a matter of some concern to us when you, Sir, from your place in the Imperial Council lent the weight of your authority to the opposite view, but our hopes were revived when Your Honour spoke as follows in reply to the address of the U.P. Congress Committee:—

'You say that it (the provincial settlement) is not now adequate to the growing needs of these provinces. If I am satisfied of this, I shall not hesitate to represent it strongly to the Government of India. But before I am so satisfied, I must first examine our provincial expenditure thoroughly and the justification for it; and this is what will be done as soon as the busy winter season will be over. I am not going to ask for an additional rupee until I am convinced that we have no avoidable waste; for I am sure that you believe, as firmly as I do, that there can be no true efficiency without economy.'

"Your Honour has now examined the provincial expenditure and I take it that the budget before us excludes all 'avoidable waste', and yet we find in the words of the Hon'ble Mr. Pim that 'desirable increases of expenditure not included in the budget are many and various.' This being so, a complete case has been made out for a strong representation to the Government of India on the subject, I am not forgetful of the handsome liberality shown by that Government in making special grants to us, but such grants are made to other provinces also which enjoy the full share of their revenues, and cannot afford any reason to deny us the bare justice we ask for. The Government of India must be just before they are generous.

"I do not propose to detain the Council with an examination of the various heads of the budget and will only submit a few remarks on some of the more important matters of general interest. But there is one item on the expenditure side which requires special mention. This is a small but highly significant item of Rs. 15,000 allotted for benefactions by Government. The Hon'ble Rai Bishambhar Nath Bahadur[1] takes the right view of it. So far as I am aware, this is first time in the history of this province that an item of this nature has found a place in the budget. I congratulate Your Honour on the happy idea and am sure it will appeal most strongly to the imagination of the people.

"Education and sanitation have received considerable attention at the hands of the Government which is doing its best to carry out the gracious desire of His Majesty the King-Emperor to spread a network of schools and colleges over the land. The general policy recently laid down by the Government of India will in a great measure meet the present requirements of the country. I hope the time is not distant when this policy

[1]b. 1870; Vakil, Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor; Municipal Commissioner and President of the Bar Association of Ajmer; Joint Secretary, Famine Relief Committee, 1905-06; attended the Delhi Coronation Durbar, 1911.

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will be further expanded and free and compulsory education granted in at least selected areas which appear to be suited for it.

"For the present, however, we must try to make the most of what we have got. The institution most deserving of support is the aided school. The promoters of these schools are seriously handicapped for want of competent teachers. One of the most pressing needs of this province is the establishment of at least one more training college in a suitable centre. The demand for training teachers for Anglo-Vernacular schools is so great that the existing colleges at Allahabad and Lucknow are wholly inadequate to meet it. The majority of teachers turned out by these colleges are absorbed by the Government schools and the aided schools are hard put to find competent teachers. There is not the same difficulty here as is said to exist in the case of normal schools for girls. There is room for more than one additional college and there is no lack of students for such colleges. Another point to which I would call attention in connection with aided schools is what appears to me to be an anomaly in the Educational Code of the United Provinces. I refer to articles 379 and 380. Article 379 runs as follows:—

'The annual grant shall ordinarily, not exceed one-half of the whole tuitional expenditure on the institution.'

"And article 380 is as follows:—

'Grants made for the erection, purchase, enlargement, improvement or repair of schools or colleges or hostels attached to them shall not exceed the total amount contributed for the purpose from other sources.'

"Article 379 was amended in consequence of the recommendations of a committee which met last year by the insertion of the word 'ordinarily.' The effect of this amendment is to leave the Government a more or less free hand in the case of recurring grants, but article 380 has not been similarly amended, and the result is that in awarding non-recurring grants the Government is tied down to the hard and fast rule of half and half.

"I think greater latitude is necessary in the case of non-recurring grants also. The Government insists on better equipments and the building of hostels. There are some very deserving institutions which cannot raise half the capital required and they ought to be helped by the Government.

"As for Government schools and colleges, the great reform needed is to improve the prospects of the provincial educational service. In other provinces members of the service are much better off than here, though we have as good men as the other provinces can boast of. It is noticeable that in the matter of the personal allowance also which were recently announced our province compares very unfavourably with other provinces. The maximum we could find for our officers of tried ability was Rs. 100 per mensem, while other provincial Governments have given away as much as Rs. 150 or more. What matters is not so much the difference in the amount as the difference in treatment it involves. We ought to make our educational officers feel that good work is as much appreciated here as elsewhere. The feeling that the best of them are considered inferior to men of the same class in another province is not conducive to efficiency.

"After the full discussion on the resolution I had the honour to move

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the other day in the Council on the subject of female education, I do not consider it necessary, to dwell on that all-important subject. But I may be permitted to point out that it will be desirable to issue special instructions to assistant inspectresses to work the rules in a more liberal spirit. There is reason to believe that too much stress is laid by them on curricula and the technical enforcement of rules. All that need be seen in a girls' school is that it is attracting pupils who receive some education and are better for it than they would otherwise be. The principal object for the present should be to popularize these schools and not to criticize them too strictly.

"Turning now to sanitation, the connection between it and education is obvious. At the budget discussion last year I took the opportunity to suggest adequate provision for sanitary dwellings for the poor. The Allahabad municipal board has done something in the way of constructing a few model houses in the city, but I am not aware of anything done in rural areas where the need for sanitation is the greatest. I would advocate a much larger allotment for the improvement of public health than has been made.

"Municipal reform, among others, is now engaging Your Honour's attention and it will not be out of place here to commend the memorial of the municipal board of Allahabad praying for a non-official chairman to Your Honour's favourable consideration. The appointment of paid chairmen of municipal boards is not only open to all the objections which apply to collectors appointed as chairmen but imposes an additional burden of the large recurring amount of his salary on the scanty resources of the municipalities concerned. The enlightened policy initiated by Lord Ripon[1] and reaffirmed as recently as 1908 by Lord Morley has not been followed in these provinces to the extent to which it should have been. Municipal and district boards are the training grounds for Legislative Councils, and in the natural order of things municipal reform should have long preceded Council reform. But it is not too late to begin. In places where non-official chairmen have been appointed they have given a good account of themselves, and no more time should be lost in extending the reform to large towns like Allahabad, Lucknow, Cawnpore and Benares. The manner in which members are selected for district boards is thoroughly unsatisfactory and should be replaced by a regular system of election.

"I have listened with considerable interest to the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam-us-Saqlain on the question of the rate of interest. There is no limit to the greed of money-lenders, and India is not the only country where they prosper at the expense of the poor. In an advanced country like England it has been found necessary to keep on the Statute Book a Money-Lenders' Act restricting in various ways, the rapacity of this class. Something on similar lines should be done in this country also.

"The question of communal representation raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali is one of those unfortunate questions which lies at the root of

[1]George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Marquis Ripon; b. 1827; Secretary of State for India, 1866; Lord President of the Council, 1868; much-loved Viceroy of India, 1880-84; First Lord of the Admirality, 1886; Colonial Secretary, 1892-95; Lord Privy Seal, 1905-08; d. 1909.

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many evils from which this unfortunate land has been suffering for some years back. I wish the question had not been raised, and now that it has been raised I decline to discuss it, on the ground that in the first place, it would be impossible for me to do so within the time at my disposal, and in the second place it is not at all a congenial subject to me. But I would say this, that if our Muhammadan friends want it and will not be happy till they get it—let them have it—but give them no more and no less than they are strictly entitled to. They should have no place in joint electorates and their separate electorates must not return a larger number than is proportionate to their total population. I am sure that after a few years of their aloofness, the Muhammadans will see eye to eye with the Hindus on this question also as they have already begun to do on other equally important questions. The suggestion of Dr. Sapru is a very attractive one, but I am afraid it will not have the desired effect. It is the extremists on both sides who are keeping the ball rolling, and they are not likely to meet on a common platform with a real desire to settle their differences. The only remedy is to give each community full justice and no favour.

"In conclusion, there is one point, which I would take this, the very earliest opportunity of urging upon the most serious and earnest consideration of the Government. In common with the general public I have gathered that the considered opinion of this Government favoured selection by nomination as the most desirable mode of recruiting the public services. The Royal Commission will take some time to come to the end of their labours and in the meanwhile appointments must continue to be made. I therefore desire most fervently, on behalf of the highest interests of my countrymen of whatever race or creed, to urge on the Government the absolute necessity of taking well considered and effective steps, so as to minimize to the utmost the demoralizing effect that any system of recruitment by nomination is liable to produce upon the youth of a country. To make it necessary in order to have a chance of employment in the public service of his country for a young man, just entering upon life to go around the officials of his district humbly begging the favour of a nomination, or a recommendation for one—to force him to spend hour after hour waiting in the verandahs of the collector, the superintendent of police, the civil surgeon or the joint magistrate in order to obtain the all potent chit from one officer to another—to oblige him (in practice if not in theory) to tip and carry favour with the underlings of officials down to the chaprasi and bearer, is surely not the right way to obtain upright, honest, selfrespecting, independent servants for the state.

"No Indian or European who is really intimate with Indian life, can fail to see—unless he shuts his eyes—the demoralizing effect upon national character which is clearly traceable to the necessity for carrying favour with Government officials. I would therefore entreat the Government, if they propose to continue the nomination system to devise some method of at least minimizing this cancerous evil.

"If I am asked to make a practical suggestion I would say—though I am wholly opposed to nomination on principle—that a judicious modification of the system, which I am informed prevails in England for selection

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for the navy, might be introduced. I will not trouble the Council with details, but only add that the selection of young men for nomination should be in the hands of independent boards consisting of officials and non-officials—that any canvassing and favour-carrying should entail disqualification—that the board should have before it confidential reports from the head-master of the school or principal of the college under whom the young man has studied, as also on account of his parentage, family connection, social status, etc., supplied by the parent or guardian. The candidate should appear before the board and should be asked a few searching questions viva voce—in other words be put through his paces and then declared fit or otherwise.

"But whether this or some other method be adopted, the great thing which I urge most earnestly is that some efficient means should be devised to prevent young men being tempted to seek Government service in a manner destructive of their selfrespect and demoralizing to their character."

135. Revised Financial Statement, March 13, 1914.[1]

"The resolution moved by my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru has my entire sympathy and I am prefectly confident that it will meet with the sympathy of all members. The principle which the learned mover wishes the Government to recognize is a very simple one. It is well known and can hardly be denied at this hour that it is the duty of the State to protect the innocent, as much as it is the duty of the State to punish the wicked. The principle was recognized, as has been pointed out by the honourable mover, in England in 1903, so far as original trials were concerned. In that year the Poor Prisoners' Defence Act was passed and in a certain class of cases it was controlled by rules framed by the Attorney General.

"The prisoners were helped by the Government and such advice as they required was given. There was no right of appeal in England prior to 1907, and it is a remarkable fact that the statute of this year which created the right of defence for the first time also created by one of its sections the right for the poor to be defended, not of course in every case, but in such cases as were consistent with the rules or when the Attorney General thought it right in the interests of justice. Now the right of appeal in this country is a much older one than is in England, but the right of the poor and undefended has not yet come to be universally recognized, at least in these provinces.

"The prosecution and criminal proceedings generally from the very

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1914* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 131-33.

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beginning are in the hands of competent persons and more or less experienced hands. We have to begin with the over-zealous police officer who leaves no stone unturned to acquire distinction. Then in the Magistrate's court we have an experienced court inspector and sometimes an assistant court-inspector. In the Sessions court we have the Government Pleader, who is generally a gentleman of some standing at the Bar, and in the High Court we have more than one of its eminent counsel who practise there regularly and who represent the crown. Now on the other hand the accused is unable to pay for the defence and is generally illiterate and ignorant, with no perception of legal rights or forms of legal procedure. That being the case, all that he can say is to protest his innocence and for argument he has nothing to address to the court but an invocation to the Almighty; that is all his argument. Now in a matter like that, I submit that it is impossible to believe that any justice could be done where there is no cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, as cross-examination, is the only test by which we can determine the veracity of a witness when there is no elucidation of facts. I think I am repeating the experiences not only of the gentlemen at the Bar, but also of honourable members who have discharged judicial duties, that at times facts and circumstances which apparently tell very strongly against the accused become capable of very easy solution by the merest chance words uttered by the accused or by some witness, of which he did not understand the meaning at all, but which, as soon as noticed by a person who could weigh the facts and connect them, and especially those whose business it is to marshall facts, at once acquire special value and at times have resulted in the bringing about of quite a different result than what appeared at the first sight.

"This matter is one which I hoped might form the subject of legislation probably by the Imperial Council. But before that legislation is made, I think we should follow the practice of the past and frame such rules and set apart such sums of money as should be sufficient as an experimental measure to enable us to mature a scheme for legislation. Now there is one matter which I cannot pass unnoticed, and that is the honourable mover's reference to one of the greatest Judges in the High Court, Mr. Justice Mahmud.[1] I know of another instance which has deeply impressed me, for the simple reason that it occurred in the early days of my practice. There was another Judge equally distinguished and known, and who I am thankful to say is still alive and is enjoying quiet rest in England. I mean Sir Douglas Straight. It was only a few days after I had joined the High Court that there was a murder trial. The accused was a very poor man and Sir Douglas Straight sent for me and gave me the printed papers and asked me if I could defend him and I at once agreed though I am sorry I could not save him, the case was so much against him. However, this is an instance which shows that it is not that the Judges are entirely power-

[1]Justice Syed Mahmood, b. 1850; District Judge at Rae Bareli, 1879; elevated to the High Court Bench, North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1887; President, Trust of M.A.O. College, Aligarh; d. 1903.

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less in the matter, but that is a different matter. Unless the Government sets apart a certain sum of money which can only be used for this purpose, the poor accused will remain undefended. Simply to say that if the Judges are so inclined and if the gentlemen of the Bar are so inclined they may help the accused is not enough. The fact remains that unless there are certain rules on the subject many deserving cases will go without being represented, which perhaps, if a strong counsel was engaged would have received justice. For this reason I submit that the resolution ought to receive the support of the Council and of Your Honour. As for the ways and means I submit that the sum asked for is not very much and the money should be found from the source which is pointed out by the learned mover or from some other source. With these remarks support the resolution".

136. Resolution Expressing Loyalty and Devotion to the British Throne, September 14, 1914.[1]

"I rise to add my humble support to this resolution, not because I consider it needs my support, but because I am actuated, more or less by reasons which have been given by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Abdur Rauf.[2] I feel that I would be wanting in my duty if I allowed this most important occasion to pass by without saying a few words. As Your Honour is aware, this is a resolution which has already not only been adopted by the unanimous voice of India, but has been translated into deeds the parallel of which it is difficult to find. In this reign the appearance of the common enemy has done more to bring together the different and distant parts of the Empire than any amount of legislation in this Council would have done. It has cleared the political horizon and the occasional mists which arose around the undoubted loyalty of Indians of any class or community, and specially of that much-maligned and little-understood class 'the educated community'. It is true that this class has differed from the Government on questions of internal administration, but it stands to-day, in the presence of an external foe, as steadfast in its unflinching loyalty as any other section or class of the Indian population. It is a glorious spectacle, as the Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal has put it, to see the prince and peasant, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, vying with each other in paying homage at the foot of the throne and in offering all their wealth in the service of the Empire. This glorious

[1] *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1914* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 475-76.

[2] Sir Syed Abdur Rauf; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1913-16; supported the Turkish Relief Fund, 1913; Member, South Africa Committee; acted as Puisne Judge, High Court, Allahabad, 1918 and subsequently rose to be Judge, High Court, Punjab.

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spectacle has been the theme of general comment, of general conversation, of newspaper articles, and of thoughts generally expressed in all ways and forms of society. And only till the other day the day before yesterday —there was no doubt in any one's mind that this general outburst of enthusiasm for service to their king and their country was nothing but spontaneous, nothing but true. It was impossible to conceive that this unanimity of feeling, this common desire to sacrifice all their wealth for the country and for their king could be attributed to the machinations of a few wirepullers or agitators, or that it could be the handiwork of persons who have behind it no nobler desire than that of gaining some petty political status in the future. I have, Sir, no hesitation in saying that none but the most perverted mind can, for a moment, entertain such an idea, which I call a malignant and malicious idea. It is, I am afraid, not customary to answer newspaper criticism in the course of debates in this Council; but from the criticism which has appeared in a recent issue of the most important, in fact the leading daily of these provinces, is the criticism of a nature which calls for an immediate answer not of the usual irresponsible kind and anonymous in its nature, but in open Council and uttered with full responsibility for every word that is said: The writer calls this spontaneous outburst of loyalty a manufactured article put in the market for an unsophisticated government to pay too high a price for it. The chosen leaders of the people are discredited; and why? Because 'if we were to attach complete credit to all that we hear to-day the Government might safely send every regiment, European and Indian, away to fight the Germans, securely trusting the internal peace and order of the country to the volunteers and the Bar associations'. Now, let me tell this writer, whoever he is and however highly placed he may be, that, but for the venom which he and others like him have been spurting from time to time, there would have been a better understanding between the Government and the people; and it would not only have found it possible to send every regiment, British and Indian, away to the front to fight the Germans, but the three hundred millions of British subjects in India could easily have been utilized to overpower the German hordes and, if necessary, to overrun the whole of Europe. It is inconceivable that any sane writer could himself believe in the views which have been expressed here. It is true that while there is every gratification in the mind of the public for being allowed to take part in the defence of the Empire, it is not unmixed with a tinge of disappointment at their utter inability to do more, at their utter inability to do all that they would be capable of were they not suffering from certain disabilities. Then the writer, not content with the wholesale condemnation of Indian character, discredits the fighting qualities of the Indian troops and says:—'The need is for more men, but it is a need above all for one brand—the trained British soldier, the man who will hold his ground against odds for three days running and turn the defence into attack if the chance offers on the fourth. It is no disparagement to Indian troops to say that even when trained and led by British officers a very small proportion of them come up to this standard. If they did the British would not be in India. Things, however, being what they are, the question

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is whether the Government in this country is giving Sir John French the kind of help he wants to enable him to tide over the dark period until the second line of British and colonials is ready to take the field, or is it treating the war as a means of meeting the "aspirations" of the Indian people'. In his anxiety to crush the very aspirations the writer forgets the history, if he ever studied it to any purpose. Any school boy would tell him that the British owe their Empire in India as much to their Indian troops as to the British-born soldiers. But it is useless to consider its criticism any further. The most charitable view that one can take of it is to attribute it to a diseased state of mind. Now, whatever our reviler may have to say, we have cast our lot with the British. In their success lies our success: in their failure our humiliation and despair. We cannot, even if we were not actuated by any nobler motives, even if we confined ourselves to self-interest, have wished otherwise. No one can have such crass ignorance of the things as they are as to attribute to Indians a suicidal dislike of the British Government. I say again, and I repeat it, that I am voicing the opinions of all inside this chamber and outside it where there is a true Indian heart beating, I say that we do homage to our Sovereign Lord with the same sincerity of feeling, with the same genuineness as any other community, as even the sons of England itself would do. We say, we stand or we fall with the British Government, and it is impossible to conceive any other motive for the loyalty and for the offers which the Government has received. I support this resolution, and I beg Your Honour will pardon me if I have used strong language. But, as I have submitted, I think many of us, although they may not use such strong language, feel very very strongly with me upon this point, and this is my sole object in touching upon this matter."

137. Resolution Regarding Amendment in Education Code.[1]

"When I was a little boy I was taught the well-known nursery rhyme the burden of which was try, try and try again. In those primitive times it was supposed to be one of the golden rules of life, but it seems that times have now changed and we are told that the application of this rule to Indian boys is fraught with the most disastrous consequences, not only to the boys themselves, but to the country at large. I am sorry, Your Honour, it is rather late in life for me now to change my creed, and in spite of the very clear and lucid statement of the case by the Hon'ble Mr. O'Donnell and the Hon'ble Mr. de la Fosse,[2] and the very authorita-

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1915* (Allahabad, 1915), pp. 63-64.

[2] Claude Fraser de-la Fosse, Director of Public Instruction 1906; also served as a member of the Lieut.-Governor's Legislative Council.

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tive and decisive declaration by the Hon'ble Mr. Lovett,[1] I confess that I remain unconvinced and unconverted. The statements made by the Hon'ble Messrs. O'Donnell and de la Fosse, have been met by my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, but the Hon'ble Mr. Lovett, who came after Dr. Sapru and who, of course, supported the Government and spoke against the resolution, has not dealt with any of the points which were made by my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru. I have listened to his very forcible address with all the respect which it commanded and with all the attention which I could give it, but the one question which has been repeatedly asked by the honourable members who spoke in support of the resolution has not been answered, at least I have not perceived it in the speech of any official member. That question is—what are we to do with our boys? If they have the misfortune to fail once, twice or thrice, their parents do not cease to have the same affection for them as they had before. Every parent must be naturally anxious about the welfare of his child as to what he should do. The Hon'ble Mr. Lovett says that it would be bad for the country if this resolution were passed and efficiency in the matter of education were sacrificed. Would it be a better day for this country if by shutting out these young men year by year from useful careers you drive them to discontent? Their parents cannot afford to give them private tuition, and the most likely result of enforcing the new rule would be to swell the ranks of the revolutionaries However, I do not propose to go very exhaustively into all the pros and cons of this resolution, but I beg the Council to take two aspects of the case particularly into its consideration. The first is this that we are all aware that ever since the outbreak of the war every non-official member has judiciously refrained from embarrassing the Government in any way by the introduction of anything which was in the slightest degree of a contentious nature. Is it right that a question of such magnitude and of such great importance, as it has been shown to be by the discussion to-day (a sweeping change in the educational policy of the Government) should be introduced at this time and at this juncture by means of a simple departmental order? I submit it is not in the fitness of things that a rule of this kind should be introduced at this particular crisis.

"The next point I beg the Council to consider is that, as has been stated by the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali, we have heard so many things said against the existing system and the want of the new change, but has not that want been felt elsewhere in India? Why should we, the most backward of all provinces in the matter of education, be the most forward in this case? What right have we to show the way to our more enlightened neighbours and others who are far ahead of us? Surely the same evils which we feel here must have been felt in those provinces, and surely there are authorities; there are educational experts; there are men who

[1]Sir Harrington Verney Lovett, entered Indian Civil Service, 1882; served in North-West Provinces and Oudh; Member, Bengal District Administration Committee 1913-14; appointed additional member, Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1917.

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understand business in those provinces, who would have felt the existence of these evils, if they existed at all, and who would have considered the best means of removing them. So I submit the resolution should be considered quite apart from the real merits of the case on these two grounds. Firstly, it is a matter which, rightly or wrongly, has convulsed the whole of Indian society and of so far as this Council is concerned, I find that with one single exception—the Hon'ble Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain—all the non-official members are agreed. The Hon'ble Khwaja Sahib in speaking against the resolution made two very big assumptions. He says, given the fact that space is limited, and given the further fact that there is no provision in the budget to increase the available accommodation in schools, he would choose the lesser of the two evils and shut out the older boys who tried and failed and bring in the younger ones who have never tried and who are likely to succeed. But I am not prepared to concede that it is made out that there is no money, or that there is no accommodation. Be that as it may, where was the necessity to substitute a hard and fast rule for a wide discretion? If the discredition is in the head master, and if really the head master is of opinion that a particular boy who has been plucked twice or thrice in the examination ought to make way for another and more promising one who seeks admission, the rules in force are quite enough to cover the case. I submit that no case for such a rule has been made out. So far as the non-official members are and the general public are concerned they feel and consider it a very great departure from the existing state of things to their prejudice. There being no extreme urgency for the introduction of such a rule, I would beg the Government to consider the advisability of suspending it till such time as the opinion of the associations, public bodies, and other persons are obtained and the Government has fully considered the matter. With these remarks I support the resolution".

138. Views on the Budget, 1915-16, April 6, 1915.[1]

"I do not propose to avail myself of the privilege enjoyed by honourable members on the occasion to enter into a general discussion of matters of public importance, and will confine myself, not only within the four corners of the budget, but wholly to that aspect of it which I consider to be rather remarkable. The budget, Your Honour, has been described by the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Chand[2] as a war budget, and the most remarkable feature of that budget is that the general financial situation in the country has made

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1915* (Allahabad, 1915), pp. 316-17 and 357.

[2] Motichand, Raja, b. 1876; first non-official Chairman, Banaras Municipal Board; Chairman, Banaras Bank Ltd; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1913-20.

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it possible for us to avoid new taxation in this time of storm and stress. We have for some time past been used to a succession of what may be called prosperity budgets, but the most sanguine of us could not possibly expect to tide over the dire calamity of this present war, in which we are taking no mean part, without additional taxation. It speaks volumes in favour of our financial stability and reflects no small credit on those who have the control of our purse strings.

"At the same time it is idle to say that this budget is an ideal one, and that there is no fault to be found with it. It is equally idle to say, or to complain, that retrenchments have been made on the expenditure of most essential objects, which are necessary for the progress of these provinces, because it must be in the very nature of things in these times of financial depression to apply the scissors rather mercilessly to all departments of the state. What has really to be seen is whether there has been very undue severity or unnecessary leniency on any section of the community. And I make bold to say that the present budget does not stand examination in that light. The members of the Indian Civil Service have certainly come out an easy first in the race between officials and people, and the budget certainly is more an official budget than the people's budget. I cannot understand what justification there can be for allowances to the members of the distinguished service when there are other services and the people at large who have been quite as hard, if not harder hit by this war. One finds that there is a compensation allowance for reversions due to the recall of officers; there are seven additional commissionerships with their necessary concomitants of establishments and contingencies. Quite a number of special duties have suddenly sprung into existence to provide for the members of the service. Now one might look in the budget for something to compare with this on the people's side. But I am afraid he would look in vain, I do not by any means wish to minimize the handsome grants that have been made for education and in some other directions, but if you look for something parallel to this on the people's side, there is nothing to be found. There is no doubt a provision made by Your Honour's Government for which we are grateful, and that is the provision for assistance of indigenous industries. That comes to 70,000 rupees. I had also hoped, when I heard the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Balrampur congratulating Your Honour's Government on the handsome allowance made for grain compensation that I would be able to join in these congratulations but my reading of the financial statement unfortunately is not the same. On the contrary I find that it is stated on page 11 that the provision of Rs. 40,000 for grain compensation allowances has had to be omitted under land revenue and a similar provision of a lakh and thirty four thousand for grain compensation allowance has had to be omitted under police. I do not find anywhere else a statement that any provision for grain compensation allowance is still in force. If this is so, we have to compare a grant of nearly two lakhs of rupees for the various allowances to the members of the Indian Civil Service and the Rs. 70,000 which has been granted for assistance to the indigenous industries, and I venture to say that it does not form very elevating reading.

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"There is one remarkable circumstance under the head of police which one cannot fail to notice, and that is that, while the ill-paid constable has been given an increase of pay from Rs. 7 to 8, the total of which comes to 94,000, on the other side we have an omission of a lakh and thirty-four thousand rupees on account of grain compensation allowance. I do not know, and there are no materials before me from which I can say, whether this one lakh thirty-four thousand rupees was intended to benefit the very people who have now got ninety-four thousand rupees, or a different class of people, but there it is, and if I am right in interpreting these figures, I submit that forms a most remarkable circumstance, in this budget. The other day a resolution was moved in this Council on the same subject, but it met with the usual fate of resolution which have not either the approval or support of Government. Facts, however, must be facts and cannot cease to be facts if they are not embodied in resolutions which have been accepted. The only other item which calls up unpleasant memories is the item set apart for the creation of an Executive Council for these provinces. Honourable members who have preceded me have voiced the feeling of the whole community that the withholding of the Executive Council from these provinces has been greatly disappointing. I am not one of those who believe that a millennium will be reached if an Executive Council is granted to these provinces, but I do feel, and feel strongly, that the withholding of a Council is tantamount to and nothing less than a great injustice and lack of courtesy to the intelligence of these provinces. There has been a faint voice raised again this year against the High Court in Allahabad, and I think probably more will be heard on the subject when some other gentlemen who have not yet spoken have their turn. I do not wish to say anything in particular on that point, but I only want to voice the feeling of all of us in Allahabad, and that is that we are quite contented with the state of things as it now exists, and we neither wish that the Lucknow people should go to Allahabad nor that we should come to Lucknow".

. . .

"May I have Your Honour's permission to make a personal explanation? The Hon'ble Financial Secretary has charged me with making mischievous statements on the budget. In making the suggestions referred to I relied on the financial statement, and if I missed a portion of this statement, to which the honourable member has called attention, it does not follow that I was absolutely untrue. True it is that I now find that there is this provision, but the remarks that I made should have been taken collectively and not merely on the grain compensation allowance. My chief point was not that the grain compensation allowance has been unduly cut, but I referred to it as one of the points, it may be rightly or wrongly. My real point which I wanted to make was, that the allowance should be increased. This will be quite clear from reading the records of the shorthand writers".

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139. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill 1915, July 19, 1915.[1]

"I confess I cannot lay claim to a more careful study of the provisions of the Bill than any other honourable member. It is true that the time at our disposal has been very limited for the reasons which have been explained by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim. I have had, however, an opportunity to serve on one of the committees spoken of by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim—although for a short time—and I have thought over the leading provisions and the guiding principles of the Bill. Having so thought and considered them, I am sorry, I cannot see my way to agree with the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali when he denounces this measure as distinctly not a progressive one. I think that there are all the germs of progress in it although I quite agree that it does not embody anything like perfection or is anything like a perfect legislative measure. The Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali in describing this measure as non-progressive first of all mentioned the subject of the election of a chairman. I was prepared to hear something more promising than that which has found a place in the Bill in regard to the election of the chairman. But the honourable member's observation was followed by a remark that what he wanted was a cautious advance in that direction. That can hardly be called progressive. Then as to the appointment of an executive officer it seems to me that there is some misapprehension in the minds of most of the honourable members as to what this gentleman is going to be. In fact the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali was not sure as to whether this gentleman was something human or super-human. The answer is to be found in the Bill itself. He is to be a man, a creation of the board itself and surely the board ought to know what they are creating, and whether he can aspire to the position of something supernatural or merely that of an ordinary man. The whole point seems to be not whether we should have or should not have an executive officer but what should be his powers. The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh[2] in speaking of the delegation of powers said that we were curtailing the powers of the board. Now that seems to be a contradiction in terms. What you delegate to others you do it with your own free will. There are provisions in the Act, as the Hon'ble Mr. Pim has pointed out which can make you undo what you have done. All that the Act aims at is that the head shall be the same as it has always been but the hand shall not be the same. It will be another hand that will carry on the decisions of the head and in that I do not see that there can be any objection. Of course when we come to the various powers that have been delegated under the Bill to the executive officer or to the chairman I admit that there is room for discussion but I do not see any objection in the very act of delegation or in the principle which recognises a delegation of

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations 1915* (Allahabad, 1915), pp. 409-12.

[2]Honorary Secretary, Zamindars' Association, Muzafarnagar (U.P.); elected Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1909; Trustee, Meerut College and the Central Hindu College, Benares.

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powers to the chairman or to the executive officer. There are certain matters which the Bill deals with and others which are left to rules and regluations to be made under its provisions. It may be that many honourable members might think that some of these matters might form a part of the Bill itself and may be given effect to by the Act when it is passed and not by rules to be made by the board or the Local Government. That I think is a matter which will be considered by the select committee which will be appointed to-day. One of these is a highly controversial matter, which has been mentioned by the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali, and that is communal representation. He has claimed that this Council has been fully satisfied, and it has been fully demonstrated to it that it is necessary in the interests of his community that they should have separate representation. He complains that the present Bill does not go any further than the old Act and simply reproduces word for word the old Act. Without committing myself on behalf of my community, because I lay no claim in any way to be authorized by that community to represent its views, I am free

admit that so far as the principle is concerned, viz., that this is a matter which might well have been settled by the Act itself, I fully agree. But I must guard myself by saying that I do not commit myself either to the existence of any urgency or for special representation of the Muhammadans or even to the desirability of it. What we cannot shut our eyes to is the fact that this question crops up in season and out of season. This question is a fruit—source of friction between the two communities and we cannot avoid facing it. It must come to the fore. At every meeting there is a series of questions as asking how many naib-tahsildars, tahsildars or chaprasis are Muhammadans and why more has not been done for Muhammadans. To set this at rest and to enable the two communities to know exactly where they are so that in future they may busy themselves with better things and devote their energies to a better cause it is perhaps advisable to settle this question once for all, viz whether any community is entitled to any special representation, and, if so, what is the extent of that special representation. Again speaking for myself I am free to admit that I do not oppose personally any claim of my Muhammadan friends in the Council or outside it for special representation if they think it necessary. My own opinion is that it is not conducive to the improvement of the community and to the progress of the country, but if they must have it they ought to have it so that this cause of friction, which is a permanent one, may, once for all, be removed and then it will perhaps be possible for the two communities to come to a better understanding after each has got what he wants. The result of what I have submitted is that I have no objection to the question being considered by the select committee or the Local Government and the provisions of clause 11(2) being so altered as to give effect to the principle of special representation by the Act itself instead of the matter being left to rules.

"There are many provisions of the Bill regarding the principle of delegation with which I agree; but there is always room for discussion of details. Again there are many matters besides those mentioned by the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali which may be settled once for all by the

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provisions of the Bill instead of being left to rules and regulations. I may point out the very next clause (clause 12) which says 'The following matters shall be regulated and governed by rules made by the Local Government under section 239' and one of those is 'the qualifications of electors and of candidates for election'. I should very much prefer these qualifications to be fixed by statute instead of being left to change from time to time with the rules. Sub-clauses (d) and (e) deal with the constitution of a tribunal or appointment of an officer or court for the settling of disputes; that again is a matter which should be settled once for all by the provisions of the Act itself because it is neither convenient nor conducive to the ends of justice to change the forum from time to time as has been our experience in past years. At first it was the civil court and then it was the commissioner. It is therefore necessary to have the question of jurisdiction settled by the Act itself. There are of course many other matters which require discussion, but they hardly arise in the present stage. With these remarks I support the resolution that the Hon'ble Mr. Pim has moved".

140. Resolution for Training of Munsifs in Criminal Work, October 5, 1915.[1]

"I am sorry I have to oppose this resolution. At first sight it appears to be a very reasonable one, but a little consideration will show that there are serious difficulties in the way. I do not think that the object which the honourable mover has in view can be achieved by anything short of a thorough overhauling of the provincial services and not even then until the larger reform, viz. that of the separation of executive from judicial functions, has been carried out. That is a reform for which the country has been agitating for a considerable number of years, and, as has been pointed out by the honourable mover, we are now waiting for the considered opinion of the members of the Royal Commission on Public Services. The honourable mover has guarded himself by saying that he would not have any interference by the executive with the munsifs who are to have the power of magistrates and the means he suggests to avoid this interference is that they should at once be made first class magistrates. He feels the difficulty of investing munsifs with first class powers to begin with, and he tries to get over it by saying that they having had experience in other departments of the law would without previous training be competent to discharge the duties of first class magistrates. Assuming this to be so, the mere fact of being a first class magistrate does not free the officer

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1915* (Allahabad, 1915), pp. 488-89.

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concerned from all subordination to the district magistrate. The civil courts in this country are the only courts which are, or at least ought to be, thoroughly independent of the executive and I venture to say that it will be a sad day for this province when that independence is sacrificed to considerations such as those put forward by the honourable mover. I for one am not prepared to make the tremendous sacrifice just for the sake of advancing a few munsifs or giving them experience of magisterial work, which will in all probability be forgotten long before they are appointed sessions judges. On this ground alone, even if there were no others, I would strongly oppose this resolution. But the whole subject teems with difficulties of a practical nature. There is no harder worked or worse paid class of public servants than munsifs, and to impose additional duties upon them, without relieving them of some of their ordinary work, would be very unfair. Now this can only be done by creating new posts, and I am sure that my honourable friend the Financial Secretary will not view that proposal with any favour. Again, if we allow the munsifs to encroach upon the domain of the sister service, I mean the deputy collectors—is there any valid reason why the legitimate aspirations of the latter should not be satisfied? They are told that they cannot be made civil and sessions judges because they have no experience of civil work. May they not with equal justice demand that a select few of them, such as have obtained degrees in law, and have had some experience at the Bar similar to that of the munsifs, be allowed the chance and be given the opportunity to try some civil cases and so qualify themselves for the important posts of sessions and civil judges. There are among deputy collectors men whose attainments and qualifications are in no way inferior to munsifs and subordinate judges, and if they do not possess the special training of the latter, it is through no fault of theirs. But there are obvious objections to even those deputy collectors not being raised to the position of civil and sessions judges, and I submit, without going into detail that those objections will always continue to have force so long as the present system of recruiting deputy collectors is maintained. The real trouble, as I submitted in the beginning, is the mixing up of the executive and judicial powers in this country. To my mind the first step towards any substantial reform is to bring about the complete divorce of executive from judicial functions and it would then be time to think of smaller reforms like those which are proposed by my honourable friend. But so long as that step is not taken I submit that the scheme proposed by the honourable mover can only be regarded as unworkable in practice and unsound in principle. With these observations I oppose the resolution".

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141. Suggestions for Amendments of Constitution of U.P. Legislative Council, December 18, 1915.[1]

"It was in July last that Your Honour was pleased to accord permission to me to move a resolution in this Council on the desirability of a thorough revision of the Council Regulations. Honourable members will remember that this resolution was actually on the agenda of the meeting of the Council held at Lucknow on July the 19th. After I submitted that resolution, it was pointed out to me by some of my Muhammadan colleagues for whom I have the greatest respect that my resolution covered controversial grounds, and in deference to their wishes I approached Your Honour to obtain leave to withdraw that resolution with liberty to move it at a later date.

"I am sorry that the notice of the present resolution which is before this Council did not reach me in time to enable me to give notice of my own resolution, and it is thus that I find myself in a somewhat awkward position. While I fully agree with the honourable mover that an amendment of the regulations, which he seeks, is not only highly desirable but is urgently called for, at the same time I am convinced that what he asks for is too little and that what is needed is much more. We are all aware how the regulations which are now in force suddenly sprang up into existence without the public or their representatives being in any way consulted or their opinions being invited. It was soon after these regulations were published that attention was drawn in the Imperial Council to their defects. I think that it was our representative in that Council, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who moved the resolution drawing attention to the point. The debate that ensued showed conclusively that there were many matters about which the regulations needed amendment, but as is the fate of all the non-official resolutions opposed by the Government, that resolution was defeated. The regulations have now been in force for two consecutive lives of the Council and the experience gained by the non-official elected members fully justifies the criticism to which they were subjected when they first saw the light. I think it is high time, as the honourable mover has said, that a thorough overhauling of the regulations be made. My only trouble is that the resolution now before the Council is in a limited and restrictive form which prevents me from enlarging upon it and I fear that I shall be ruled out of order if I go beyond it. While therefore addressing myself only to that aspect of the question to which the honourable mover has confined his resolution, I wish the Council to understand clearly that there are other equally, if not more, important matters which require amendment. But restricted as the resolution is, I welcome it as coming from one of my Muhammadan colleagues; for it makes my position clear and removes from my path the bogey

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1915* (Allahabad, 1915), pp. 580-82.

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which under the name of controversial matter is so often trotted out to suppress criticism in these days and I consider myself free when the time arrives to raise the larger question to which I have alluded.

"Now turning to the debate, I find that there have been two dissentient notes in this Council. One came from the Hon'ble Raja Tasadduq Rasul Khan,[1] for whom I have the highest regard. But I think the Hon'ble Raja Sahib has not been able to appreciate the nature of the amendment which the honourable mover asks for. His objection is that it is not desirable in the present state of the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans to have a majority of elected members, because it may be that there are certain matters on which there are differences between the two communities which might be carried by the majority to the detriment of the minority. Now my simple answer to that is by giving a majority of elected members you are not giving a majority of Hindu elected members. The majority that is asked for by the honourable mover is a majority of Hindu and Muhammadan elected members combined. However small the Muhammadan minority may be, it is sure to be taken under the protection of the Government if any attempt is made by the Hindu majority to encroach upon the rights and liberties of the Muhammadan minority. The Muhammadan minority coupled with the official minority will always form a majority of the total number of members and it can never allow any preponderance of Hindu members over it to have its own way; even if it is conceivable that all the Hindu members, or at least the greater number of them, will be so self-interested as to have no regard at all for the rights and feelings of their Muhammadan colleagues. So I submit that the objection of my friend Raja Tasadduq Rasul Khan is not justified by the terms of the resolution.

"I now come to the objection of my friend the Hon'ble Saiyid Abdur Rauf. When I heard his speech I felt that I was not in the year of grace 1915, but that we were living in some days gone by when the principles of election were not fully understood. The Hon'ble Saiyid Abdur Rauf's objection is that minorities must be represented in equal numbers with the majorities, and until that time comes, i.e., the Muhammadan elected members are equal in number to the Hindu elected members, it is not desirable to have a majority of elected members consisting of both communities. It has often been said that minorities require protection. No reasonable man will deny this. But the protection of minorities does not convey the idea of the destruction of majorities. If there are minorities they must have special treatment. But the question which is raised by my friend hardly arises on the issues under discussion. In fact, what I have said in answer to the objection of the Hon'ble Raja Tasadduq Rasul Khan applies equally to the remarks of my friend the Hon'ble Saiyid Abdur Rauf so far as the point in issue is concerned. Then my friend further says that the keeping of the right of nomination in the hands of Government would result in this—that the Government would be able to nomi-

[1]Sir Tasadduk Rasul Khan, b. 1851; took part in Anti-Nagri protests; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1902-03; 1909-12 and 1913-16; d. 1921.

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nate members out of the minorities and thus equalize their number. But what is to be the number of the representative of any particular community does not come within the scope of this resolution, and if there is anything which can be considered controversial it is this aspect of the question, which should have been avoided by the Hon'ble Saiyid Abdur Rauf as it was by others who took part in the debate. It was this very question of numbers which was put forward as a serious objection to my proposal when I was going to move it, and I yielded to the wishes of my Muhammadan friends by withdrawing it for a time. The intention of the honourable mover is not to ask the Government to fix the numbers. The whole argument is therefore irrelevant to the issue. The Hon'ble Saiyid Abdur Rauf further says that there are people who would like to come in by the dubious method of nomination rather than through the open door of election. My answer is that such gentlemen have no business in the Council and they had better stay at home. I for one would rather be in the Council by the suffrage of the people than be here by the sufferance of the Government. It was from the beginning an accepted proposition that the principle of election was to be the guiding principle upon which the reformed Legislative Councils are to be constituted. You, Sir, had the distinction of being one of the signatories to the very first despatch of the Government of India on the subject of constitutional reforms. In that despatch the Government of India were of opinion that there should be a non-official majority not only in the Provincial Council but also in the Imperial. It was the Secretary of State, if I am not mistaken, who drew a distinction and said that, while he was in full agreement with the Government of India that the Provincial Councils should have a majority of non-officials, there should in his opinion be a permanent majority of officials in the Imperial Council. The principle was thus recognized, so far as the Provincial Councils were concerned, by those who first conceived the idea, and it has been recognized by those who are now taking part in this Council—at least by a majority of them. I submit that it is quite out of place to raise any question as to election being a better method of coming to this Council. Of course, as was pointed out by the honourable mover, I fully agree that nomination will be necessary in order to have experts or representatives of certain particular communities. But even there to a certain extent it may be done by election.

"On these grounds I support the resolution."

142. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved that the following be added as sub-clause(c) of clause 3(2):

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), p. 187.

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"Excludes any area under clause (d) of sub-section (1) without the consent of the municipality concerned."

He said:

"The amendment which I beg to propose is particularly the same as is proposed by the Hon'ble Babu Brijnandan Prasad,[1] the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh and the Hon'ble Rai Prag Narayan Bhargava Bahadur.[2] Although the language is slightly different, it raises the same question of principle. My proposal is to add the following as sub-clause (2)(c) 'excludes any area under clause (d) without the consent of the municipality concerned.' Sub-section (1) (d) lays down that the Local Government may by notification include or exclude any area in or from any municipality. The amendment I propose is to the effect that any such notification including or excluding any area in or from any municipality should be either with the consent of the municipality concerned or with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. In fact sub-section (2) will read thus:—

(2) The power to issue a notification under sub-section (1) shall be subject to the condition of the notification being issued after the previous publication required by section 4 and, where the notification—

(a) is in respect of a local area, which comprises or contains the whole or a portion of a cantonment; or

(b) cancels a notification under clause (a) in respect of a city;

(c) excludes any area under clause (d) without the consent of the municipality concerned;

With the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council.

"The principle of this amendment is that no area should be excluded except with the consent of the municipality concerned, and if it becomes necessary, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. My reasons for the proposed amendment have been already stated in my minute of dissent attached to the report of the Select Committee, with which the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan concurred."

143. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[3]

"I must express my deep gratitude to the hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett for his great advocacy of the very much-disputed despatch of 1911. It is very refreshing to non-official members of this Council, and I suppose that it will

[1]Babu Brijnandan Prasad Misra, a prominent member, U.P. Legislative Council.

[2]Prag Narain Bhargava, b. 1872; Rai Bahadur, son of Munshi Nawal Kishore; Member, British Indian Association, Oudh; Hony. Magistrate.

[3]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad 1917), pp. 190-91.

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be to the public at large, that at last that despatch and the interpretation put upon it by the public has been accepted by the official world. In fact no less authority than His Excellency the Viceroy (as has been pointed out by Sir Verney Lovett) recently said in his speech that despatch, worded as it is in plain English language, means what its words convey and nothing more or less. I am glad that the same interpretation is now fluttering through the whole country and has come into this Council and will be accepted by all the officials. But it is one thing to have provincial autonomy and all the good things which accompany it and it is quite another thing to speak of provincial autonomy without all the good things which come with it. Here we are, as has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Tej Bahadur Sapru, without an executive council, without a non-official preponderating element in this Council. What is the guarantee and what is the strength upon which we can rely for a successful appeal either to their Council or to the Government, which is not assisted by an executive council or by any of the elective members of this Council? But I do not admit that the amendment which I propose implies any distrust of any kind whatever in the Local Government or in this Council. It merely asks for a right of appeal, and that does not convey with it any distrust in the judgement or in the capacity of the authority from which the right of appeal is asked. The Government, as well as a court or judge, is after all, human, and to err is human, and if in some important matters (where it is possible that some very important interests might be at stake) we ask for the right of appeal, I submit we do not ask anything which is extraordinary or which implies any distrust in this Council. Then again, if the Council will read the section carefully, I do not see where the arbitration clauses come in at all. All that the section says is that the Local Government may by notification cancel any notification under any of the preceding clauses, declaring any local area to be a municipality, or cancel a notification excluding areas from any municipalities. Now there is the power of the Local Government. It is not bound to hear the parties concerned. It may be approached, and it may, without being approached, *suo motu* be convinced that it is perfectly justified in excluding a particular area from a certain municipality. True it is that the notification will have to be published, and it would in a manner invite public criticism; but we all know that the public opinion of these provinces is only in its infancy; it is not yet strong enough to meet every possible case, and it is simply as a safeguard of all these opinions that I ask for an amendment which does no harm to anybody and which implies no distrust in Government; it simply gives us the right of appeal. In fact I will say at once that if we had an executive Council I should have been pleased to withdraw this motion."

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144. Discussion on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

The hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved that following proviso be added to clause 7(n):—

"Provided that no expenditure on education shall be considered reasonable which is less than 5 per cent of the normal income of the board after deducting the income from special services."

He said:—

"The principle of this amendment has been followed by other honourable members. While the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and myself are satisfied by asking for a minimum expenditure of 5 per cent, the Hon'ble Saiyid Al-i-Nabi[2] and Rai Prag Narayan Bhargava Bahadur demand no less than 7½ per cent for expenditure on education. This subject was considered by the Select Committee, and the Council has before it both sides of the question. I cannot do better than refer honourable members to the note of dissent signed by myself and the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan on clause 7(n), where we tried to meet all the points raised. Now, as a matter of fact, as the Council is aware, there have been standing orders of the Government requiring municipal boards to spend at least 5 per cent of their income upon primary education. But those orders have been more honoured in the breach than the observance, and this is the reason why it was considered necessary by all the non-official members of the Select Committee that there should be a statutory obligation upon municipal boards to spend a certain amount of their income in this way. The great objection put forward in the Select Committee was that if the municipal boards did not exercise those powers there was no means to compel them to do so. The plain answer is that if they cannot be compelled to discharge their duty properly they can be otherwise taken notice of. At any rate if a minimum is fixed by statute it will be very rare that a municipal board will think of disregarding the statutory limits.

"The other objection was that there is no reason why a distinction should be made in favour of education while there were other services in which no such minimum expenditure was fixed. Some honourable members were of opinion that there were other matters, such as laying out of roads, or the sanitation of municipalities which even more urgently called for certain fixed proportions of expenditure. My answer to that is that, granting for the sake of argument that it is necessary also to prescribe a limit for other purposes, it does not follow that you must not prescribe a limit for education unless you prescribe a limit for the other services. Two blacks do not make a white. But I go further and say that the case of education stands upon a perfectly different footing to all the other services and having regard to the need of primary education it is the most urgent duty of a

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 201-02.

[2] Saiyid Ali Nabi, Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1909-12, 1916-23; President U.P. Muslim League; President, Agra Home Rule League, 1917; President, District Congress Committee, 1919; d. 1928.

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municipal board to provide for it. Of course I do not say that it should be provided for at the expense of other necessary services. But, as we have pointed out in our note of dissent, a board should not be allowed to spend all its money upon one department and starve the others. It would be sounder policy to maintain all the departments in a state of moderate efficiency than to lavish money on some while starving the others. For these reasons I submit that it may be made one of the obligatory duties of the board not only to establish primary schools but to spend a fixed minimum on them. Unless you do this the obligation will not be discharged satisfactorily, and therefore I move the amendment for the acceptance of the Council."

145. Discussion on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved that after clause 8(d) the following sub-clause be inserted:—

"(dd) Opening free primary schools and making attendance at the said schools compulsory for boys of certain ages."

He said:—

"This, I am aware, is a very big question, and it was the subject of some discussion before the Select Committee. The reasons for putting forward the proposal are contained in the note of dissent which is attached to the report of the Select Committee, and which has been seen by honourable members. That note of dissent is founded upon a recent pronouncement of Sir Harcourt Butler[2] from his place in the Viceregal Council in March, 1912, and is to this effect. He said:— 'Even if it be the case, though instances are not forthcoming, that a local body here and there may desire in the near future to introduce the principle of compulsion and is prepared to raise the whole of the necessary funds by local taxation; even assuming such a case, which we should be quite prepared to consider on its merits, would not the natural course be to provide for it by local legislation, by the amendment of the municipal law or otherwise.'

"The contingency contemplated by Sir Harcourt has now arisen, and we are engaged at present upon the amendment of the Municipal law of this province, I submit that it is high time that the question of free and compulsory education be considered along with the Municipal Bill. Of course it may be objected to this amendment that we are not providing for

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 205-07.

[2]Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, b. 1869; entered Indian Civil Service, 1888; Secretary, Famine Commission, 1900-1; Secretary, Government of India, 1908; Member, Governor-General's Council, 1910-15; Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, 1915-18; Lieutenant-Governor, U.P. 1918-20 and Governor, 1920-23; Governor of Burma, 1923-26; d. 1938.

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free education by merely saying that municipal boards may be given the power, if they so desire, to have schools where the attendance of boys will be made compulsory. We do not provide the machinery. I may at once say that the proposal is not a complete one in that sense; but there are other matters which can be settled hereafter by rules and regulations, and this may as well be treated as one of them. All that is wanted is that the principle may be recognised that, if a municipal board so desires it, there is nothing to prevent it from having schools at which primary education may be made free and compulsory within specified areas. I submit that the demand is a very modest one. We do not say that either the whole town or the whole municipality should be governed by these considerations; but it should be left to the option of the municipality to try the experiment tentatively within certain parts of it where the scheme of compulsory education has any chance of success. If it has no chance it need not be taken up. It is, as the Council has observed, not one of the compulsory duties of the board, but one of the discretionary powers. I submit that, having regard to the pronouncement which I have read to the Council and having regard to the needs of the country, such a power may well be given to the boards. If such power is in any way abused or misused by the boards it is bound to be an example to other municipalities, which will, I am sure, never follow a bad example.

"Then as to the question of expenditure, what Sir Harcourt Butler said was that should a proposal be made by a municipality which is prepared to raise the whole of the necessary funds by local taxation, the Government would be prepared to entertain it. We need not go further. My proposal is that a special educational cess may be levied by a municipal board which thinks that there is reasonable chance of success in introducing the principle of compulsory education within its area; or there may be boards who, without levying any special tax, may be in a position to start in a very small area of their municipality an experimental school of this kind. Even if it be that we are not quite right in our expectations, still the reservation of a power like this is in the right direction and there can be no harm. I therefore submit that if it is introduced it may bear fruit and prove to be the beginning of a great change in the educational system of the country. In any case there is no harm done in trying this experiment and giving the municipal boards power, on however small a scale it may be, to introduce the principle."

146. Discussion on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

"It is very gratifying to me to find that I have the unanimous support

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1915* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 212-13.

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of the non-official members of this Council. All the members that have spoken, even those who have suggested a slight alteration in the amendment that I have proposed, have agreed in principle. I have, therefore, only to meet certain formed objections raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth[1] and those on the merits of the case raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim. So far as the objections of the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth are concerned, the honourable member will remember that in moving my last amendment before the Council I admitted at the very outset that the amendment does not profess a complete machinery to carry out the object in view. All that I did ask for was the recognition of a certain principle, and left the rest to take whatever form and shape was considered best. While I quite agree with my honourable friend that clause 8 is not a proper place to introduce a power of compulsion and that I may have to look to some other part of the Bill to find a suitable place, I submit that the first part of my proposal, the opening of free primary schools, is quite appropriate. There is nothing to prevent a power being conferred upon a board which it has in its discretion either to exercise or not to exercise as it deems fit. True it is that section 8 is not a penal clause, but penalties can be provided for elsewhere. I agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth so far that we cannot put in the whole of the machinery by which this principle is to be carried out in practice under clause 8. But there are other parts of the bill where we can do so; and in any case there is nothing to prevent our introducing the principle of free and compulsory education without going further at present. When experience justifies the introduction of penal clauses it will be time to consider whether it can be done by amending the sections of the Bill which provide for offences and prosecutions, or by some other means. As I submitted in my opening observations, the whole object of my amendment at present is that the principle may be recognized. I do not contemplate any action on a very large scale or even on a scale which will embrace any big proportion of any area: a board may begin with a small mohalla which it consider particularly adapted for the purpose.

"As to the observations of the Hon'ble Mr. Pim, he is perfectly right in saying that the pronouncement of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler is not a binding pronouncement upon us in the sense that we are bound to determine our legislation according to it; but that more or less it is in the nature of an *obiter dictum*. But I look upon that pronouncement as entitled to great weight, being made in the course of the debate on this very important question by a responsible officer of Government who was opposing Mr. Gokhale's Bill in the Imperial Council. In fact we are entitled to take the views of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler to be the views of the Government of India of that day, and, that being so, I think it is something more than an obiter dictum. Although it need not determine the course of legislation, it certainly goes to show what the policy of the Government should be in giving effect to a principle of this kind. Then the Hon'ble Mr.

[1]Ernest Horatio Ashworth, joined I.C.S, 1893; served in North-West Provinces and Oudh as Assistant Magistrate, 1903; Legal Remembrancer to Government, 1912; District and Sessions Judge, 1913-17.

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Pim said that it is a matter in which one has to proceed with very great care because we have to deal with various classes. That again is true. But who is more competent to give it the careful handling it requires than the various classes themselves who send their representatives to the board?

"Then as to finance, I want to make it perfectly clear that I did not introduce the question of finance, although it was present to my mind, as is apparent from the note of dissent which the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan and I have sent in, in which we do advocate the levy of an educational cess as foreshadowed in Your Honour's recent speech made in December last. I purposely refrained from introducing this subject in my amendment because I left it to the boards to provide funds. My idea was that a very very small beginning might be made which would not involve any great expenditure by increase of taxation. Of course, in course of time, if there appeared a need for increased taxation, I should be justified in appearing before this Council and asking some due provision for it. My whole object was to proceed as carefully and as cautiously as possible, and therefore I shall be perfectly satisfied if this Council will recognise the principle and leave the rest to the boards concerned. If they think that the boards cannot get on without financial aid, no harm is done in at least allowing them to make an experiment. The amendment I propose being a perfectly harmless one, I propose that it should be adopted."[1]

147. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[2]

"I have much pleasure in supporting the amendments proposed by the Raja Sahib of Jahangirabad; but before I do so I have to make my position perfectly clear. Early this morning I voted in favour of the motion put forward by the Hon'ble Babu Brijnandan Prasad, and for the dropping of the further consideration of the Bill and it may appear that the position I now occupy is a somewhat anomalous one. I now stand to support the amendment of the Raja of Jahangirabad, to which in fact I myself have been a party. The reason why I have placed myself in that position is this. While on the one hand I am in perfect accord with all the speeches that have been made in support of the amendment; while in fact I have been a party to the various suggestions which have been conducive to this

[1]The subsidiary amendment suggested by the Hon'ble Shahid Husain was put and rejected.

The original, motion was then put, and was rejected by 22 votes to 16.

The Hon'ble Mr. Pim moved that the words "providing for the" and "of" be omitted from clause 8(1).

The motion was put and agreed to.

[2]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 226-29 and 247.

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amendment, I must frankly confess that I am not in favour of the manner in which it is being carried through. And this I say simply to make my position quite clear. I voted with my friend the Hon'ble Babu Brijnandan Prasad because I honestly believed that it was a controversial measure. I stand up now to support the amendment because I believe it is a good amendment and should be adopted. At the same time I did not expect that it would be carried through in the way in which it is going to be. In the first place there has been no notice of this to any member beyond the privileged few who had a sort of discussion between themselves and in the second place the discussion on this particular motion did not begin till after 4 o' clock this afternoon. In these circumstances I think there is much to be said in support of my friend the Hon'ble Munshi Gokul Prasad, who has just said that he is not in a position to say whether this is a good or a bad amendment because he has had no opportunity of considering it. With that explanation, which is more or less personal, I enter upon the merits of the amendment, which, as I have already indicated, has my fullest and warmest support. Honourable members will have noticed that in the Select Committee various proposals were put forward and considered, and Your Honour was pleased to take the Council in your confidence early this morning. I may refer to the interview which we had with Your Honour while we were serving on the Select Committee on this very question. We had very earnest discussions upon all the bearings of the case; we worked hard at the figures of the various municipalities supplied to us by the courtesy of the Hon'ble Mr. Pim. We have tested the matter from every point of view and in the Select Committee three of the non-official members, with the exception of my friend the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh, were willing to meet the Muhammadans on a common ground. It was, however, found impossible then to proceed with the question of the actual proportion, and, as Your Honour was pleased to observe this morning, we could not get any nearer after arriving at that point in the Committee. The result was that my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan and myself submitted a note of dissent, in which we said that, although we were not in favour of communal representation, yet we would yield to the desire of our Muhammadan brethren because it had been so persistently put forward in the past. At the same time we declined to entertain any proposal unless and until the proportion was fixed by statute and in fact everything was cut and dry and nothing left for future discussions. As that was not possible, in the Select Committee the only position which we could take was that, although we were willing to give a certain weighting, we could not do it without knowing what the proportion would be, and therefore we said we could not recommend the introduction of the principle of separate representation in the Bill. Now, so far as the principle of communal representation is concerned, I have always doubted, and doubt now, and I do not think I shall change my opinion upon that point, that there is nothing more pernicious to the public life than communal representation, and, as I have already submitted, if we have given in upon that point of our Muhammadan brethren it is for the sake of peace. Over a question like this my motto is peace at any price. But, however much one may be

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opposed to communal representation in principle, the question arises whether in practice it would do any good to persevere in such opposition. After all that has happened already it is now outside practical politics to stick to ideals and principles which have actually been departed from by the Government in the constitution of Legislative Councils and have been persistently ignored by the Muhammadans. Whatever my personal views on the merits on the question may be, there is no doubt that, practically speaking, we cannot by preaching these principles keep off the actual separate representation of Muhammadans for any length of time. It must come. It has come already in the elections to councils and it must go on and filter down to what my friend the Hon'ble Abdur Rauf has styled the lowest rungs of the ladder of public life.

"Next comes the question of weighting. Once we concede the principle of separate representation, I do not think that the other matter is so important as to offer any serious obstacle to our coming together. The Muhammadans want 40 per cent and the Hindus are willing to give 30 per cent only. If you apply these percentages to actual facts you will find very little difference indeed. It has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru that, according to the proposal contained in the amendment of the Raja of Jahangirabad, it will make a difference of only 23 seats in the whole of the province. Now, what are 23 seats in 80 municipal boards spread over the whole province? The Hindus are no doubt, making a sacrifice, but in my opinion it is justified as being made in the best interests of the country. I do not think that the fate of the British Empire or the fate of the Hindu community depends upon the twenty-three seats which the Muhammadans are to have over and above their just due. I fondly hope with my friend the Hon'ble Saiyid Al-i-Nabi that our Muhammadan friends are seeking separation at present only to meet us again, and I have no doubt in my mind that after a few years' experience of separate electorates they will get tired of them. Meanwhile the satisfaction which separate electorates will for the present afford to our Muhammadan friends, will lead them to co-operate more and more with Hindus in political life and both parties will come to understand each other better. The result will perhaps be what my friend and I devoutly wish for, namely in meeting again their joint electorates. These are the two principal points of the amendment which has been moved by the Raja of Jahangirabad before the Council; the others are only matters of details. But there is one point which I should like to emphasize, and that is, that the percentage of 38.5 as is mentioned in sub-clause 3(b) is not an arbitrary percentage put in without reference to actual facts and figures. Sub-clause (5) will show how it has been worked out. We did not take that percentage of 38.5 simply as a standard for all calculations; but it is a definite figure which has been arrived at by a comparison of the total population of the Muhammadans in the municipal areas to the total population of non-Muslims in those areas, and it has turned out that they come to 38.5 according to the last census. I may mention here that a good deal of the controversy which has ranged round this point in past years has been due to a total misapprehension of the actual figures. We have heard speeches

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from platforms, we have read articles in newspapers insisting that the strict proportion of the Muhammadan population was 14 per cent of the total population. We never heard from any platform or read in any newspaper on the Muhammadan side that it was not so; but somehow or other it was taken as an accepted fact that it was so. Each party based its claims on that. I am free to confess that up to the moment that we entered into this question of urban population I was labouring under the same misapprehension myself. I was thinking that anything given to the Muhammadans over 14 per cent would be a favour to them. But now as a matter of fact we find that in the most important areas they are no less than 40 per cent and when you have given them 38.5 in the other places that applies only to 29 municipalities and is a mere question of twenty-three seats more.

"Another point has been made clear by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim. He has stated on behalf of the Government that Hardwar and Fyzabad stand on a different footing. We do not know what the result will be when Hardwar is separated from Jwalapur and Fyzabad from Ajudhia; but this was the understanding under which these proposals were made. I wish that the Hon'ble Mr. Pim were able to give us on behalf of the Government a promise, to give a sympathetic consideration to the suggestion thrown out by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru in the view of this compromise, namely, that the much needed amendments of the Council regulations may between in hand, though this is a matter which rests with the Government of India.

"With these remarks I support the amendment of the Hon'ble Raja of Jahangirabad."

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru said:—

"I rise to support the motion. The object of the clause is to secure a speedy disposal of election petitions by providing a summary procedure and withholding the right of appeal. That object can be gained as effectively and perhaps more satisfactorily if the district judge is the trial court. There is no reason why a district judge should not be empowered to hold a summary trial. Questions of considerable intricacy do arise at times in the trial of election petitions and it stands to reason that the competent court for the trial of these petitions should be a district judge, who is expected to be more familiar with civil law than a Commissioner. As regards the right of appeal, I would not object to the same finality being given to the orders of the district judge, as the Bill provides for orders of the Commissioner, subject to the discretion of the district judge to make a reference to High Court on a question of law and subject also to the general revisional jurisdiction of the High Court over all civil courts."

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148. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved that for the last twelve words of clause 13 might be substituted:—"Call upon the board to explain why it should not be superseded," and that the following sub-clauses be added:—"(2) if the board fails to submit an explanation within thirty days of the date of such publication, or if the explanation submitted is in the opinion of the Local Government unsatisfactory, the Local Government may by a further order published in the gazette supersede the board for a period not exceeding one year. (3) A board so superseded may within sixty days of the publication of the order superseding it appeal therefrom to the Governor General in Council."

He said:—

"This is one of the clauses on which the non-official members of the Select Committee were unable to agree with the official members. The clause leaves it entirely in the hands of the Local Government to supersede a board when it likes without enabling the board concerned to a show cause why it should not be superseded. My amendment is that an opportunity should be given to the board and it should be called upon to explain why it should not be superseded. I therefore propose that the following clause may be added as sub-clause (2):—'If the board fails to submit an explanation submitted is in the opinion of the Local Government unsatisfactory, the Local Government may by a further order published in the gazette supersede the board for a period not exceeding one year.'

"Now the first part of my amendment is based upon the elementary principle of justice that no person or corporation should be condemned unheard, and I do not think any argument is required in support of that principle. The second part gives the power to the Government to supersede the board if it fails to give a satisfactory explanation. The exercise of this power is subject to appeal by sub-clause (3), which lays down that the board so superseded may within sixty days of the publication of the order superseding it appeal therefrom to the Governor General in Council. Both these provisions are essential. The supersession of the whole of the board should be safeguarded by a right of appeal, and should be preceded by an explanation from it. I submit that these are very obvious amendments and trust the Council will have no difficulty in accepting them."

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), p. 253.

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149. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

"I have to thank the Hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett and the Hon'ble Mr. Pim for the partial adoption of the principle of my amendment, viz. that in the first instance the board which is to be superseded will have a right to explain matters and put its own case before the Government. But my amendment has been opposed on behalf of Government in regard to two other matters which it deals with, namely, first the right of appeal and, secondly, the period of suspension. So far as the right of appeal is concerned, it seems to me that there is something in that right which is so entirely misunderstood or misconceived in this Council that the moment you mention it it raises up questions of distrust and partiality and all the rest. I submit that the right of appeal is a very reasonable right. It is a right which is given from the decisions of the best judges and the most impartial authorities, and the fact that it is given casts no aspersion either on the impartiality or the trustworthiness of the authorities from whose decision it is given. A single judge of the High Court cannot finally dispose of a case where a question affecting property of the value of even Rs. 5 is involved. If the right of appeal were based on distrust of the authority from whose decision an appeal was allowed, the Judges of the High Court would be the most discredited public servants in the world. I fail to see how any question of distrust can possibly arise when anyone asks for an appeal from an authority, however high it may be. I do not for a moment dispute the harmony of relations which the Hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett says exists between the Government and the Commissioner, the district officer, and the municipal boards. I do not for a moment dispute that Government and all its officers are actuated by the best of motives and that they actually try to help the boards to advance the cause of self-government. But, as I pointed out yesterday, it is human to err. Any officer, be he a Commissioner or even a Lieutenant-Governor, may come to a wrong conclusion and have to be set right on appeal. Everyone knows that even a ministerial officer cannot be dismissed summarily without having a right of appeal. Now, I ask the Council to consider seriously whether 12 or more respectable citizens of a town who have a reputation at their back for their honesty, for their business-like habits, are to be dismissed in a body by one stroke of the pen, without having recourse to appeal. Further is it a less serious thing than fine of Rs. 50 or so imposed on a culprit, or the dismissal of a naib-tahsildar. I say it is a far more serious thing, and if there is a right of appeal in the one case there ought certainly to be a right of appeal in the other. It seems to me that the nervousness to which Sir Verney Lovett alluded does not lie on the side of those who ask for the right of appeal; but, if I may be permitted to say so, it distinctly lies on the side of those who do not like to give it.

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 257-59.

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If they are confident of the correctness of their decision, where then is the harm of allowing an appeal? Against the impartiality of various district officers and the harmony of relations existing between them and the boards, I have to say nothing. But what does it all come to? I simply ask for a right of appeal. In answer it is said:— 'No such right is necessary; we have never gone wrong in the past and shall never make a mistake in the future.' I have heard that the king can do no wrong, but I have never heard that the Government and its officers can never go wrong; experience teaches the contrary I repeat it is a very serious matter. When you are telling twelve or more capable citizens than they are incapable, you should at least give them a chance to have their case laid before another authority and to get a decision of that authority.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Pim has again relied upon the report of the Decentralization Commission. That is a very slippery thing. When convenient it is relied upon by officials but it is set aside when it supports the non-official view, and there I need not attach any special importance to sit in this instance.

"Then the Hon'ble Mr. Pim has called attention to the fact that we have said in the note of dissent that had it not been for the absence of the Executive Council in this province we should not have asked for a right of appeal, and he has argued that this circumstance appears to weaken the case for an Executive Council. I beg to differ from him on this point. I think it shows not only the urgent necessity for an Executive Council, but also supplies the very reason upon which the demand for a right of appeal is based. Three heads are at least better than one. Had there been an Executive Council the order of suspension would at least be considered by more than one. But that is a much larger question which does not at present arise.

"The fact remains that the right of appeal is quite independent of the capacity or the position of the authority from whose decision the right of appeal is sought. It depends more upon the importance of the subject, and I submit that there is no subject more important than the case of a number of good citizens being told that they are incapable of doing their public duty. The Hon'ble Mr. Pim was pleased to say that my amendment, instead of being a step in the advance would be a retrograde step as he thought that by giving the right of appeal we would be reduced to the status of a non-regulation province, i.e. small province not occupying the position of a major province. Here again, if I may be pardoned for using the expression, it is a fallacy to say that the right of appeal implies in any way any derogation from our position or status as a great province. If in a non-regulation province the municipal board ought to have a right of appeal, *a fortiori* a regulation province ought not to be deprived of the right.

"Then as regards the third point, viz. the period of suspension, the Hon'ble Mr. Pim has given the Council the various systems in vogue on the Continent and in England. It is not my wish to follow him on those systems. All I need say is that it stands to reason that there should be some limit to the order of suspension, as it is you can continue it for a

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hundred years. There is nothing in the Act to avoid that result, and that is all that I wish to avoid. If you think that there may be boards whose affairs are in such a hopeless muddle that you require two or three years or even a longer period you may provide that period and also give a right of appeal."[1]

150. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[2]

"I do not want to detain the Council by making a speech of any great length, but I thought it was my duty to speak. It is unnecessary for me to say anything as to the merits of this amendment. As pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim, it is wrong in principle and impossible in practice. But what I want to say is that it is a great pity that the honourable mover has thought it necessary after what transpired in this Council yesterday to press this amendment to-day. I was given to understand, in fact I was given distinctly to understand, that this amendment will not be pressed in view of the compromise that had been arrived at in regard to clause 11. However, I do not say that my friend the honourable mover is under any legal obligation not to move it, but there certainly was an understanding to that effect. Your Honour will remember that the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh in supporting the motion of the Hon'ble Baba Brijnandan Prasad gave as one of his reasons for opposing the consideration of the Bill that this amendment had been proposed by the honourable mover in spite of the compromise and he asked what would come next. Instead of droping the amendment, the honourable mover has pressed it and justified the apprehensions of the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh. My only regret is that it will create positive mischief with the outside public. My honourable friend has appealed to our patriotism. I think I should place my commonsense before my patriotism. When you consider the question carefully you will see that he has placed us by moving his amendment in a very difficult position. As it is, we have to face an angry crowd outside the Council, and there will be any amount of opposition to what we have comitted ourselves to. By pressing this amendment he has increased our difficulties tenfold. With these observations I oppose the amendment."

[1]The amendment accepted by Government, namely, that after the word "may" in line 7 of the clause 13 the words "after taking into consideration the explanation of the board" should be inserted, was put and agreed to.

The amendment proposed by the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal was then put and rejected by 24 votes to 11.

[2]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), p. 272.

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151. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

"I rise to support the motion made by the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan. So far as I remember, the principle that we settled in the Select Committee was that an official chairman and an executive officer should not co-exist in a municipality except for a period of six months, and the reason why we arrived at that conclusion was that it would be obviously difficult to go on with the municipal administration if both the non-official chairman and the executive officer were new to their duties. That is to say, we could not get rid of the official chairman and appoint a non-official chairman in his place and at the same time give him the assistance of an untried executive officer. Therefore it was thought if it was intended to have a non-official chairman the first step to take would be to appoint an executive officer under an official chairman, so that the former may have the necessary training under an experienced officer. It was considered that a period of six months would be necessary for that purpose. That being the principle, we find that the two clauses as they now stand conflict with that principle. Clause 24(6) to which the Hon'ble Mr. Pim has moved an amendment gives expression to the principle which I have just submitted. That amendment runs as follows:—

'Omit sub-section (6) and add at the end of sub-section (5) the following proviso:—

'But no such notification shall be made, or continue for more than six months to be operative, in respect of a municipality wherein is employed an executive officer-appointed by the board with the concurrence of the Local Government under section 38, or appointed under section 45.'

"The Council will be pleased to note the words 'with the concurren e of the Local Government.' When we come to clause 38 (I am only referring to it to elucidate the meaning of clause 24) we have the power of the board to appoint an executive officer with the approval of the Local Government.

'The word there is 'approval', sub-clause (2) of clause 38 runs as follows:—

'The appointment and the salary and and other conditions attached thereto shall be subject to the approval of the Local Government.'

"Then comes sub-clause (3), which runs as follows:—

'Such approval shall not, in the absence of express direction to this effect by the Local Government, be deemed for the purpose of sub-section (6) of section 24 the concurrence referred to therein.'

"First of all in order to have a non-official chairman we must have an executive officer with the approval of the Local Government. That is not enough. We must also have the concurrence of the Local Government. Now, if I remember the observations of the Hon'ble Mr. Pim, he said

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp.276-77.

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yesterday that what was objectionable was also undesirable and in that view of the case I say that has the approval of the Local Government has also the concurrence of the Local Government. But here in clause 38 it is stated that such approval would not necessarily be the concurrence under section 24. The result is that unless in the order approving the appointment of an executive officer it is stated that the Local Government approves the appointment and declares that such appointment has also its concurrence, the clause will not apply, and the executive officer and the official chairman will go on for ever, which I submit is against the principle I have mentioned. I therefore suggest that the necessary change may be brought about by the amendment moved by the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan and the Legal Remembrancer may be asked to draft the wording in such a manner that the object in view is not defeated.''

152. Views on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved that sub-clause (3) of clause 38 be omitted.

He said:—

"May I move an amendment which was foreshadowed by me in connection with clause 24, sub-clause (6)? Your Honour will remember that an amendment was moved by the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain to clause 24(6) yesterday but was considered out of place there. My present amendment is that sub-clause (3) of clause 38 be omitted. The object of this amendment is to carry into effect what was the guiding principle of the appointment of an executive officer. That principle has been adopted by the Council and was clearly stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim in connection with clause 24 to be that an executive officer and an official chairman shall not be together for more than six months. Under Clause 24(6) that object is carried into effect. But when we come to clause 38, sub-clause (3), it says:—'Such approval shall not, in the absence of express direction to this effect by the Local Government, be deemed, for the purposes of sub-section (6) of section 24, the concurrence referred to therein.' Now, sub-clause (6) of clause 24 says:—'A notification under sub-section (5), in respect of a municipality where there is no executive officer, shall cease to have effect upon the expiration of six months from the date of the appointment by the board, with the concurrence of the Local Government, of an executive officer in accordance with the provision of section 38.' The appointment of an executive officer can only be made with the approval of the Local Government, but clause 38 says that such approval

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 296-97.

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shall not be taken to be the concurrence required for the purposes of clause 24(6), which means that although an executive officer may be appointed with the approval of the Local Government, yet it may not be necessary to appoint a non-official chairman within six months of that appointment. That being the clear result of it, we are told that the object with which this distinction is drawn is that it may be that in a municipality where an executive officer is appointed on a very low salary the Government may have no confidence in him and it may become desirable to continue the official chairman. At the same time the Government may be disposed to allow the municipal board to try the experiment of having the executive officer and may accord its approval to his appointment, but such approval should not be deemed the concurrence in clause 24(6). My answer to that is, that if the appointment of an executive officer does not carry the confidence of the Government, the simplest thing to do is not to approve of the appointment. But once approved, that approval should be deemed the concurrence of the Local Government for all purposes mentioned in the Act. It will be contradiction in terms to say that a thing has been approved by the Local Government, but it has not the concurrence of the Local Government for certain purposes. For these reasons I move the amendment for the acceptance of the Council."

153. Resolution regarding the Appointment of a Committee for Representation of different Communities on Municipal Boards etc.[1]

"I am sorry to say that I am unable to see eye to eye with the honourable mover and with his supporters, in spite of the very able speeches to which we have been treated. It is obvious from the general drift of those speeches that what has prompted the honourable member to bring up his resolution before this Council is the so-called general dissatisfaction of the Hindu community at the provision about communal representation in the new Act commonly known as the Jahangirabad amendment.

"Now, Sir, as is well known, I was one of the Hindu members of the late Council who conferred with their Muhammadan colleagues on the subject and who ultimately arrived at the settlement which culminated in the provisions which are now embodied in the Act, and I may at once say before I proceed further, that, speaking for myself, I see no reason whatever to resile from the position which I then occupied. I supported the amendment to the law in that respect at the time; I adhered to it during the heat of the controversy which followed both in the press and on the platform; I stand by it as firmly as ever. We have now to consider what

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 571-74.

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the motion before the Council is, not in the spirit of wounded feelings or wounded dignity because we were not consulted, but as practical men and as members of this Council. Now what does this resolution come to? Your Honour is asked to appoint a committee of representative men to reconsider the whole question of commual representation, but has not that been done already. Did not the Committee to which Your Honour referred this question deserve the name representative? Were they not members, Hindu and Muhammadan, of this Council and were most of them not elected and chosen by the people? Those members met; they came to certain conclusions, and those conclusions were submitted to Your Honour's Government and approved by them; and yet what has been the result? General dissatisfaction of the Hindu community, as the honourable mover and his supporters have said, of course barring a few black sheep like myself. There is no doubt that there was a great demonstration of dissatisfaction, and it is a matter of deepest regret that a bona fide settlement of a vexed question of long standing arrived at in all honesty of purpose and with a sincere desire to serve the best interests of the country and the community should have evoked the storm of feeling which it did. I do not say, Sir, that feeling was either unreal or insincere. No feeling that is stirred by racial or religious animosity is ever unreal, however ill-advised it may be. I do not say, Sir, that the compromise which we arrived at was above criticism. No compromise has ever been or ever will be. But what I do say is that the suggestion before the Council is an entirely futile one. What is the guarantee that another Committee which Your Honour may be pleased to appoint will achieve any greater results? What is the guarantee that the Committee will be able to please the disaffected party? One party must remain disaffected. The disaffected party will always be able to get up demonstrations, perhaps greater than what we have witnessed. In any case, the constitution of another committee and the re-consideration of the matter in a spirit of compromise must result in one party being deprived of certain rights and the other party being given certain rights. The moment you take away rights there is dissatisfaction. It is impossible to carry the whole crowd in any measure of reform. But what I say is this. What is the occasion and what is the need for the appointment of a committee for other purposes than that of municipal boards? So far as the municipal boards are concerned the provision which finds a place in the Act about communal representation is now as good law as any Statute of Parliament. I do not know by what means or by what authority Your Honour can undo what has been done, except of course by permitting the introduction of an amending or repealing measure—merely the suspension of the Act or rather of the particular provision of the Act till such time as this new ideal committee is able to submit its report on the matter in a way that all parties concerned can accept its decision can be of little avail. Till then Your Honour can suspend it; but what next? How is Your Honour to change the provision of the law except in the manner I have indicated? Now as a practical man I do not think that the honourable mover can reasonably expect Your Honour to set aside a piece of legislation which

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has recently been passed in Your Honour's Council, which has now received the assent of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, before it can be said that the ink of His Excellency's order is dry on the paper. My honourable friend might well expect a fond mother to strangle her new-born child.

"Then we come to the question of the necessity and the reason for it. Supposing Your Honour were inclined to do what is asked—which I do not believe you would—what do my friends hope to gain by it? The principle of the Act is a principle which, I submit, is applicable not only to municipal boards but to district boards and to this Legislative Council, in fact to every question and every condition where communal representations is to be considered. It is of course not unalterable like a decree of fate, but like all statutes or laws it must stand the test of time and experience before the necessity for a change can be perceived. Now I must guard myself here against being misunderstood. The law has been passed; it is just beginning to be brought into practice. I am here only to defend the principle of communal representation recognized by the Act. I am not here to defend the way in which it is now being worked or may in future be worked. In fact the working of the Act even up to the point to which it has been carried, is open to objection. I have my own grievances about it, but that is another matter. What I submit is this, that it is not the principle that is to be blamed, if the principle is to be persistently misapplied. I only advocate the principle, and I say that principle concludes the whole question that has been raised. Several speakers, and specially my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra,[1] said that one of the reasons why they were not satisfied with the settlement of the question was that it was but a partial settlement, it only concerned municipal boards and it did not go as far as the district boards or the Legislative Council. I beg to join issue with that proposition. I say that the very reasons which existed in the case of municipal boards exist in the case of district boards and in the case of the Legislative Council. The principle which has been agreed to by the representatives—well, I may call them individuals, because their representative character is now denied, and which has been accepted by your Honour's Government as well as the Government of India, is a principle of universal application. What is it? Let us examine it before we condemn it. That principle is this; that the number of seats allotted to each of the two classes, Muslims and non-Muslims, shall bear the same proportion to the total number of elected seats in a particular municipality as the population of that class bears to the total population of the said municipality, subject only to two conditions. In other words that each party is to have representation in strict proportion to its number, subject to two conditions, viz. (1) that if the population of any class is less than 25 per cent of the total population it shall have a weightage of 30 per cent or an increase of three-tenths of

[1]b. 1872; a leading lawyer of Lucknow who was General Secretary of the Congress, 1918-20; later he joined the Liberals and served as Judge of the Oudh Chief Court; d. 1929.

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the actual and (2) if it is above 25 per cent but below 38.5 per cent, it shall in every case be deemed to be 38.5 per cent. Now the figure 38.5 per cent is not an arbitrary figure taken at random. It is a figure which represents the actual percentage of the Muhammadan population in all municipal areas in the Provinces and care has been taken in the Act to say in sub-section (5) of section 12 that this is not to be taken as a fixed figure, not liable to alteration, but at each subsequent census this figure is to be substituted by whatever is the true percentage then of the Muhammadan population of the municipal area. That being so, the principle comes to this; that when we have to determine the quantity of representation which each of the two classes Muslims and non-Muslims is to have in any given area, we have to find out the proportion which the Muslim population of that area bears to the total population in the same area and in no case whatever are we to allow a greater proportion of representation to the class which is in a minority than the proportion so found out. Now it is not for me to go into the reason of this rule. It is enough for my purpose to say that this rule has found favour not only with Muslim representatives of the Council who took part in the compromise, but has received the common consent of the Muslim community outside this Council and has been accepted by the Local Government as well as the Government of India. Now, if we admit that principle for municipal boards, is there any reason why the same principle should not be admitted for district boards? My friend the Hon'ble Mirza Sami-ullah Beg has fairly conceded that if the principle of communal representation be applied to district boards, where the proportion of Muslim population is found to be much less than in municipal areas, the number of Muslim members ought naturally to be much smaller. The ratio of the Muslim population of ultra-municipal areas is a little less than 12.5 per cent. Applying the rule which we have adopted for municipal boards to district boards, in no case would the Muslims be entitled to a representation of more than 16.2 per cent. Of course, if the population is more than that, they will have their representation according to population. So I say that the question must be taken as settled so far as district boards are concerned. I admit that there are other considerations to be taken into account for the Legislative Council. There not only communal representation but other interests of a varied nature have to be provided for. I will therefore not touch upon the constitution of the Legislative Council as a whole; but my contention is that so far as communal representation is concerned the same rule must apply to the Legislative Council also.

"Now is there any difference in principle between district and municipal boards? We have heard the various grounds of the claims for extra representation. It is not necessary for me to repeat those, but it cannot be denied that Musalman influence is concentrated in cities and towns. It is there that we hear of all sorts of real and imaginary importance of the Muslims and not in the villages. The rustic Muslim or non-Muslim does not hear of any particular kind of importances attaching to one or the other, nor does he care about it. Therefore I say that if this rule is good enough for places where Muslim influence is the greatest, a fortiori, it

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must apply with greater force in places where no such distinction in the relative importance of the two classes is recognized. In any case I would not only stand by the principle but hold my Musalman brethren and the Government bound by it. I hold my Musalman brethren bound by it because they have accepted the principle in the case of municipal boards, which stand, so far as communal representation is concerned, on the same footing as district boards and the Legislative Council. I hold the Government bound by it because it has committed itself to the most solemn act which any Government is capable of, viz. that of giving legislative sanction to the principle. Therefore my submission on this resolution is that in the first place it is highly impracticable; in the second place it is highly unwise, because it cuts the ground from under the feet of the Hindu community. If they reopen the question they may be certain that they may do worse but they can never do better. As far as municipal boards are concerned I think the time has not come for the Government to change the law which is only a month old. For these reasons I oppose the motion."

154. Views on Religious Instruction in Schools.[1]

"I am free to confess that before I heard the Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell it was inconceivable to me that the principle of religious liberty could be seriously contested. As we have been told by the honourable mover and by the speakers who have followed him, the principle is one which has been in full operation in almost all civilized countries in the world. It is a principle which has formed part of the law of England for nearly half a century, and it is not merely applied to matters educational, but to all matters into which conscientious scruples might reasonably enter. To illustrate this, I might refer to the great world war which has now been raging for almost three years. The Empire is on its trial and needs every available man in the battle line; and yet England stands forward as the protector of the consciences of its people, excusing all those from active service who have conscientious objections to fighting. We all know that these conscientious objectors are an unenviable lot, but, whatever services the Government may exact from them, no interference is exercised with their conscientious scruples. But the same principle is not considered applicable to India. That is to say, either that there is no conscience in India or that the Indian conscience is something different to what it is in other countries. There is absolutely no escape from this position. It may be said, as indeed it has been said by the Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell,

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 836-39.

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that the principle of a conscience clause is against the recognized policy of the Government as laid down in the despatch of the year 1854. What does that come to? Simply this, that although there was a conscience in India it has long since ceased to be alive, and by being constantly subjected to the policy of the despatch, which was against the will of the people, it must now be taken to have died. That is the only meaning which I can attach to the argument. But it is not a fact that the despatch of 1854 was accepted without a protest. The one important fact I would ask the honourable members to remember is that the introduction of the conscience clause in England was opposed on exactly the same lines as the Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell has adopted. The two cases are exactly alike. We have submitted to a policy which was inaugurated in 1854. In England religious liberty in matters educational was not conceded till the year 1862. If we had submitted to compulsory religious education for 60 years or 62 years, England had submitted to a similar system for a hundred years or more. The fight in England, a Christian country, lasted fully fifty years before the battle was won. The Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell said there has been no widespread protest; but is that the only criterion? I have said that in the year 1854 and in subsequent years there have been protests in various parts of the country. They were certainly not as strong as they might have been but having regard to the time in which they were made, they were as strong as they could be. Then Mr. O' Donnell said that the missionaries did not aim directly at making converts and that moral instruction on a biblical basis was the object of missionary teaching. Now that has been met by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani by an extract which he read from the writings and speeches of the Reverend Mr. Johnson[1] and Dr. Duncan.[2] There is just one extract I would like to read to the Council from the writings of the Reverend Mr. G.U. Pope.[3] A portion of it was read by the mover but what I am going to read directly bears on the point as to what the real object of the missionary in this country is. It runs:—

'Let it be granted that immediate conversions even of the lowest and even if the motive are mixed are cause of real thankfulness; yet I ask your sympathy on behalf of a work of ampler scope which is in truth placing a mighty lever under the foundations of Hinduism, and must overturn it in the end.'

"The extract which was read by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani also aims at undermining what is called there 'the strongly cemented tower of Hinduism' so that it will fall with a crash at once instead of being pulled

[1]Rev. Percy James Debenham Johnson, joined the Bengal Ecclesiastical Department as junior Chaplain, 1895; became senior Chaplain, 1905; retired in 1917.

[2]David Duncan, served in education department, Madras Presidency, 1870; appointed Director of Public Instruction, 1892; Member, Legislative Council, 1894; Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, 1899.

[3]G.U. Pope, University lecturer in Tamil and Telugu, Indian Institute, South Indian Mission (Tinnevelly) 1839-49; Principal, Grammar School, Ootacamund, 1860-70.

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down stone by stone. There is no doubt that is the real aim and intention and up to very recently that was the avowed object. Whether the hope expressed of the tower of Hinduism coming to the ground with a crash or the lever of Christianity overturning it from its very foundations, has been realized is a different matter. What we find is that the citadel of Hinduism stands as firmly to-day as it did in the past, and, so far as conversions go, I think I may safely say that in the interval which has elapsed between the despatch of 1854 and the present day there have been more conversions to what I may call esoteric Hinduism in European countries and America than there have been conversions to Christianity in India. However, that is quite beside the question. But the fact remains that the principal object of the missionaries is to convert and that very naturally. As a matter of fact no speaker in this council has objected to that. All that we object to is that we should be made to pay for the work of undermining our own religion. Then the Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell dealt with the blow to the cause of education. Now there is no doubt that if a number of educational institutions were to be closed all of a sudden, it would have a very serious consequence indeed to the cause of education. But, in the first place, would the missionaries think of closing their schools? And, secondly, would they be able to justify their action? I have too great a regard for missionaries in general and for missionary enterprise in particular to think that any body of missionaries or those who have the guiding of the work at home in their hands would stop all the benefits they are conferring upon humanity simply because they are not allowed to pursue their policy of compulsory religious education. If, however, they closed their institutions, the practical difficulty suggested, viz., the question of compensation would certainly not arise. Simply because these missionary bodies have for many years enjoyed the support of Government, they have no right to anticipate that support would be continued and now that it is to be discontinued, they can hardly claim to be compensated for what they have been led to spend. As a lawyer I do not see where the liability for compensation comes in. It is something like this, because you have supported us, given us help for so long, therefore we have a vested right in your support, and if you do not support us you have to compensate us in some other way. I submit there is no legal or moral claim to compensation whatever.

"The next point raised by Mr. O' Donnell was, why need a Hindu or Muhammadan send his boy to a missionary school if he objects to the teaching there? The answer to that is to be found in one of the speeches made in England at the time of the passing of the Education Act of 1870. It would appear that there was a school of thought even in 1870 in England which did not consider the provision of a conscience clause as a sufficient protection of the liberty of religion. Sir William Harcourt is reported to have said:—

"It is the old story of Thomas Moore which he borrowed from Sydney Smith, which described the relations between the rice-eating Hindu and the beef-eating Englishman. The rice-eating Hindu paid for the butcher's shop and for the beef he could not eat because the dominant Englishman

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preferred meat to rice. The Bill proposes to establish out of the rates a religious education which every body is to pay for and only a portion to use. Is that what the Liberal party understand by religious equality? We are told that the minority need not use the religion paid for with their money and that they receive complete and adequate protection by what is called the conscience clause . . . . It is like saying to the minority:—'We have made you pay for a dinner consisting of materials which you cannot consume, but if you wish it we will be so gracious and liberal as to allow you not to eat it.' Of course if you forced a man to eat what disagreed with him an additional injustice would be perpetrated, but that does not cure the original injustice of making a man pay for what he did not want and could not use. We submit to what is here called the 'original injustice' of being made to pay for what we do not want and only ask not to be subjected to the 'additional injustice' of being forced to eat what does not agree with us."

. . .

"I am sorry, and with Your Honour's permission will finish with one or two more observations. The Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell has referred to institutions other than Christian where the teaching of religion is obligatory. But these are institutions to which no one but members of that religion goes and they are institutions which I take upon myself to say would be the first to introduce the conscience clause if students of other religions frequented them.

"Then it has been said that the conscience clause in England applies to elementary education only, whereas in India we are asking for it in the case of secondary education. I would like to know whether in any secondary schools or colleges in England compulsory religious education is permissible. So far as I know, it is not, and no one in England is compelled to learn a religion which is not his own. Why then should the same rule not be observed in India? I strongly support the motion of the honourable mover."

155. The Agra Pre-Emption Bill.[1]

'Without committing myself to any of the provisions of the Bill which the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh has introduced, I rise to support the motion on the broad ground that the law of pre-emption as it is administered in the province of Agra is on a highly unsatisfactory basis. Personally, I would be glad to see the right abolished altogether, as it undoubtedly is a restraint on the liberty of contract and has nothing

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1916* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 907-09.

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either on social or economic grounds to recommend it at the present day. But, as their Lordships of the Privy Council have recently remarked, it is a valuable right, and the only question is—does it or does it not exist in a particular case? Having regard to that pronouncement of their Lordships and also having regard to the value attached to the right by the persons who enjoy it, I do not agree with the opinion that the law of preemption is an anachronism which should by one stroke of the pen be struck out of the body of customary law which has received the sanction of immemorial usage. I agree with those who are for restricting the exercise of the right within the narrowest possible limits consistent with the cherished notions of the people, and certainly I am not for extending it beyond the localities in which it undoubtedly exists. I am free to confess that the Bill as it is framed is not calculated to attain that object, but I think it will form a very sound basis for discussion and will make it possible in the Select Committee to provide certain simple rules, which while safeguarding the rights of those who possess, it will avoid the many evils which attend the exercise of the right and which are adverted to in the various opinions laid on the table. The papers supplied in answer to the question put by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani show that already a good deal of time and trouble has been spent on the preliminary stages of the contemplated legislation, and I think it would be a pity if after all that has been done no legislation is undertaken and matters are left where they are. So far as the reason for dropping legislation is concerned, there is no doubt that the objections of the Government would have been made clearer if the information asked for to-day by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani had been available to us. The only information which we have at present is that contained in answer to a question put by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru at a meeting of this Council. That answer was: 'Having regard to the recent course of judicial decisions, which is understood to have done away with much of the uncertainty hitherto prevailing, as also to the variety and conflict of the opinions received, the Government have decided, for the present at least not to proceed with the proposal for the introduction of a pre-emption Bill.' So far as the first ground given here is concerned, reference is evidently made to the decisions of the special bench of the Allahabad High Court presided over by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tudball, who for the last three years or more have been hearing all pre-emption cases to the exclusion of the other judges of the court. With due deference to the learned judges constituting that bench, I venture to say that the bench they preside over is no more than an ordinary division bench of the High Court, and as such it is clothed with no special authority to bind the other judges with the law laid down by it. To exclude five judges out of seven from the consideration of the question, when among those five judges there may be—and in fact there are certain judges who do not entirely agree with the opinion of the two judges, I submit is not to settle the law for all. The usual practice in all cases of doubt is to constitute a full bench, either of the whole court or of a sufficient number of judges, whose decision carries weight and will be binding upon the rest of the court. The practice has

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not been followed in pre-emption cases in the Allahabad High Court, with the result that if for any reason a pre-emption case is laid before the other judges they will not be bound by the decision of the special bench but will be at perfect liberty to differ from it. Besides the only case that has been subjected to the test of appeal to the Privy Council and which was decided by the special bench, has, I venture to say, not emerged unscathed from the test. I refer to the case of Digambar Singh V. Ahmad Sayed Khan, (I.L.R., 37 All., 129) which is the latest Privy Council Pronouncement on the customary law of pre-emption as it prevails in the province of Agra. The Hon'ble the Chief Justice in his judgement in that case said: 'The existence or non-existence of the custom of pre-emption cannot be said to depend upon the construction of the wajib-ul-arz.' We find, however, that their Lordships of the Privy Council differed from that opinion, and they said that it is enough for a plaintiff if he can show that on a construction of the wajib-ul-arz he is entitled to that right. So that it will be seen that the bold attempt made in the High Court of Allahabad to get rid of that fruitful source of uncertainty, viz. the wajib-ul-arz, has failed. The law, as it now stands and as I understand it, lays down three principles which may be considered of general application. The first is that the wajib-ul-arz, which purports to record the custom of pre-emption, is to be taken as prima facie evidence of the existence of that custom: the second is that evidence may be given either to corroborate or rebut the presumption raised by the wajib-ul-arz, and the third is that the question whether the custom survives a complete partition is a question of intention and of the construction of the wajib-ul-arz taken with the attending circumstances of the partition. That being so, it will be observed that each of these points has one or more elements of uncertainty in it. First of all we have to grapple with the question of construction of a document framed by an untrained subordinate officer like the kanungo or sometimes a patwari. Next, we have the strength or the weakness of the presumption raised by the wajib-ul-arz, in each case in varying degrees to be examined. Then we have to consider the sufficiency or otherwise of corroborative or rebutting evidence, if any, and lastly we have to consider the circumstances attending a certain partition if it has taken place after the wajib-ul-arz was framed. Now, I make bold to say that no amount of decisions of a special bench or of any other bench can lay down general rules of universal application on any of these points; but it is possible to frame a short Act restricting the right to certain specified areas where it exists already and to exclude from consideration all other circumstances as giving a right in other area where it has not been in existence. So I submit that the first reason which has been given in answer to the question put by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru does not hold good. The law certainly is in the same state of uncertainty as it was before the special bench was constituted. As for the second reason, viz. the variety and conflict of opinions which have been received in relation to the Bill, I gather from the papers that have been supplied that variety and conflict has reference more to the special provisions of the Bill itself than to the desirability of

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legislation on the subject. It is not suggested by any one that no legislation is possible or required. The general trend of opinions seem to be that the right should be restricted as much as possible, and whether the present Bill achieves that object or not is a question upon which there are various opinions. As I have submitted at the beginning of my remarks, I do not stand committed to any provisions of the Bill. My only point is that it is possible for the Select Committee to frame certain rules of universal application applicable to certain restricted areas which should be defined. It will thus be possible to bring the law in conformity with the general trend of opinion. I therefore support the resolution and commend it to the acceptance of the Government."

156. The Oudh Courts (Amendment) Bill, 1916, January 29, 1917.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved that the Bill be referred to a select committee. He said:—

"I rise to oppose the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell that this Bill be considered immediately by the Council, and I move that it be referred to a select committee. The Hon'ble Mr. O' Donnell has pointed out that the Bill in itself is a very simple measure, and so it is; but I submit for the consideration of the Council that it involves a principle which is very important, and which deserves to be considered in a select committee before it is put to the Council. The object is to take power in the Government to increase the number of Judges in the court of the Judicial Commissioner from time to time, almost ad infinitum. Under the law as it now stands, the Local Government may not appoint more than two additional judges by the sanction of the Governor-General; and it has therefore come to pass that for some years past the permanent strength of the Judicial Commissioner's Court is three judges. It has now been felt that these three learned judges are unable to cope with the increasing work of the Court, and the Government desires to take power to increase their number, not by one or two, but by as many as it pleases from time to time. It is therefore quite possible that we may one day have the Court of the Judicial Commissioner presided over by five or six judges, all holding their appointments during the pleasure of the Local Government. If I may make bold to say so, it would be a sort of an imitation High Court, costing, nearly, if not quite, as much as a High Court and yet without the status, the efficiency and the dignity of a High Court. Now I have no desire to stir up the dying embers of the controversy between the two sister provinces about having one High Court for the two provinces; but I put it to my friends in Oudh whether the alternative

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 39-41.

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of a patched-up High Court, if I may so call it, which is now being offered to them, will satisfy their needs or their local patriotism. To my mind there is nothing in it to recommend it even from the point of view which Mr. O' Donnell has put before the Council, namely, that it is only meant to relieve congestion of work from time to time, and is not intended to be a permanent measure. A fluctuating body of judges, holding their appointments, as I have said, under the local Executive, dropping in and at such times and seasons of the year as that authority pleases, is not expected to make an ideal court for the great province of Oudh. It may be that an ideal court and a High Court are not synonymous terms; but, with due deference to the learned Judicial Commissioner and to his learned colleagues on the bench, and without meaning the slightest disrespect, I venture to say that the Court over which they at present preside is an anachronism; and I say so for the simple reason that the province of Oudh is second to other province which boasts of a High Court, in either importance, or intellectual and material advancement. The only true solution of the difficulty which the Bill is designed to get over seems to my mind to be to raise the status of the Court. I will not tread on delicate ground and suggest the amalgamation of the Oudh Court with the Allahabad High Court, because I know that course is not so obvious to my friends in Oudh as it is to me; but, leaving these considerations aside, I fully appreciate that this is not the time either to ask for a charter or a special Act of Parliament, which will be necessary in either case, whether it is for an independent court or an amalgamated court. My point at present is simply this, that when we are face to face with the necessity of increasing the strength of the court so as to bring it almost to the same size as a High Court. I say that something must be done also to add to its status, efficiency and dignity. Most of the amendments which are on the agenda I now find have been ruled out by Your Honour (a ruling to which I must submit) but even those which remain point to the same course and are based on the same principle for which I contend, namely, that the increase in the strength of the Court must be accompanied by an increase in its status. Your Honour has been pleased to rule out also the all-important question as to the minimum number of Indian judges who are to be members of this Court at all times. That ruling also, like all other rulings of your Honour, is binding upon us and I say nothing more about it. But what I submit for the consideration of the Council and for the consideration of Your Honour is that it is hardly fair to ask us to vote for an increase without telling us what our share of that increase will be. In any case I submit that the amendments which still remain on the agenda after Your Honour's ruling are amendments which deserve to be thoroughly discussed and thrashed out before they are put to the Council, and I will therefore submit that this measure be first referred to a select committee. Are there any reasons why this Bill should be rushed through in the manner it is proposed to do? I am not aware of any, and we have it from Mr. O' Donnell himself who, in moving for leave to introduce the Bill at the meeting of the 11th November, is reported to have said that 'the necessity for taking this power has arisen, as owing to the increase of

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work in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner last year, the attention of the Government was drawn to the fact that there threatened to be a serious congestion of civil cases. The position has improved in the interval, and it is not likely that any, additional appointment will be required for some time to come; but having regard to the way in which litigation tends to expand in these provinces, it is not improbable that before very long it will be necessary to make an additional appointment to deal with the growing volume of files if such a necessity arose'. So that it is clear beyond question that there is no such urgency about this, and that being the case, I submit that the proper course would be to submit it to a select committee and not at once pass it as it is proposed to".

157. Resolution Regarding the Appointment of Non-Official Chairmen of District Boards, January 29, 1917.[1]

"Like certain other honourable members who have preceded me I had not the faintest idea that I should be called upon to speak on the resolution. My impression was that the resolution in itself was of such a harmless character that the chances were that it would be accepted by the Government. Imagine my surprise when I find that the opposition—so far at least—has not come from the Government side but that it has come from a non-official member, and that it was given to the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali to stand up on this occasion, after having been a party to certain transactions which secured, and which every one of us believes have secured, the good relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans, to speak against the resolution. It is that fact which has induced me to stand up and say a few words. I do not intend to take up the time of the Council, but I feel that I would not be doing my duty if I allowed this opportunity to pass without entering my strong and emphatic protest against the language used by the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali as to the differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans. There have been differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans, but I do not see their relevancy to the question that is now before the Council. There may be some differences even now and it is possible that differences will arise in future. But there is no such ideal community in the world which can boast of harmonious relations between all its sections and sub-sections at all times; and if there is want of absolute harmony between the two leading communities of India, the Hindus and the Musalmans, no one can take it upon himself to say that either of these communities is unfit for the civic duties which this resolution asks the Government to entrust to non-officials

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp.88-89.

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in selected districts. Then as to the facts, I do not think my honourable friend is right in his facts. So far as Lucknow is concerned, two honourable members have already spoken, and they have declared that no such state of feeling exists in Lucknow as that of which the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali is afraid. So far as Allahabad is concerned, I can assure the Council that the facts are not only not accurate, but they are just the opposite of what is the state of things there so far as the municipality is concerned. Whatever may have been the cause of certain resignations by members of the municipal board at one time, things have happened since which have led both the Hindus and the Musalmans—and the exception is confined to the honourable member himself—to hope and believe that the past is past and that in future there shall be no such differences. Hardly a month has gone by when every one knows the Hindus and the Musalmans, not only of these provinces but of the whole of this country, came together and with one mind settled their differences; and I do not think I will be guilty of a breach of confidence if I say that the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali took a most prominent part in that discussion. It comes after all that to say the very least in very bad taste for him to drag past differences into the discussion of this resolution.

"So far as the resolution is concerned, as I have submitted, it is a most modest one, and I beg the Council to consider it on its own merits without reference to the question of the municipalities and also the reasons which have in the past actuated the Hindu members to resign their seats or to abstain from seeking re-election.

"I may again assure the Council, so far as Allahabad is concerned, that there is absolutely nothing in the allegation that it is due to any difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans that the former are not seeking re-election now. I do not dispute that at one time there was some difference of opinion, but at the present moment I can assure the Council that if there is any reason why the Hindu members have not come forward it does not lie in any difference between them and their Muhammadan fellow citizens. The real reason need not be gone into now. They have their grievances, and if those grievances are redressed they will come forward as freely as they have done in the past."

158. Views on the Revised Financial Statement, 1917-18, March 13, 1917.[1]

"I want, with Your Honour's permission, to add one or two words to this discussion, and that is in view of the explanation which has been given by the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders[2] on the subject. We were told by Mr. Saunders

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 303-04.

[2]Arthur Leslie Saunders, joined Indian Civil Service 1880; served in North-West

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that before the indentured system came into operation the practice was that recruiters came into the country, got hold of Indian people by any means, took them to distant countries and put them to labour there. There was no guarantee for good treatment of any kind whatever, and there was no protection of those labourers either by the Government or by the public. It was no doubt a greater evil than what exists now, and we are told by Mr. Saunders that it was to prevent that evil that the indentured system was inaugurated. On the question of expense, so far as I have been able to understand the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders, his position was that whatever expense is incurred it is incurred in order to remove a much greater abuse that existed before the indentured system, and therefore it cannot be said that the item of Rs. 1,500 is an item which is spent in order to help any abuse. The explanation given by the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders would have been an admirable one if the motives of the Government in instituting the indentured system were in question. If anybody had said that the Government had instituted this system with a view deliberately to introduce an abuse in the Indian society, it of course would have been very sufficient answer to us that it really was to mitigate that abuse. But that is not the position we take. We do not in the least question the motives of the Government in introducing this indentured system. We talk from experience. We say that experience has shown and inquiries on the spot have proved to the hilt that the system is a degrading and immoral one, without attributing any motives to anybody. And having come to that conclusion we say that it must be stopped at all risks. Now I quite agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders that any expense much more than Rs. 1,500 in fact fifteen times fifteen hundred, would not be felt by any member of the Indian public if it were directed not to help migration but to stop it. The explanation of the Hon'ble Mr. Saunders comes to this, that the expenditure is intended to stop the evil but the appearance of the figure in the budget as an expense in aid of migration is the objection that has been taken to it. As has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Pim, it really does not represent what on its face it appears to be. If so, I see no reason why it should not be given its proper place. We need not follow a practice which has nothing to justify it at the present day. My only point is that it is not what we spend to check the evils of emigration that we object to; but what we say is that emigration itself is an evil and must be stopped".

159. The United Provinces Medical Bill, 1916, April 2, 1917.[1]

"After the advice which the honourable mover has received to withdraw

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Provinces and Oudh; Commissioner of Excise, 1892; appointed additional member, Governor-General's Legislative Council, 1911; retired, 1917.

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 581-82 and 603-04.

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his amendment I find it necessary to rise to speak in support of it. My only reason for doing so is that the reason advanced by the members, who were also members of the select committee, does not appeal to me; it does not only not appeal to me, but it reminds me of a very sad case in which I once found myself. As many honourable members of the Council will remember, I have myself been a victim of a compromise in a select committee, at any rate outside the Council.

. . .

"I simply want to speak against the principle. Because certain things have been arranged by way of compromise in the select committee, that should not prevent honourable members who were not members of the select committee from moving their amendments. On the merits I submit that the amendment proposed by the Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath is a very reasonable one. I am speaking to this particular amendment only, it may be that the others may not be so important; but when the whole Council is constituted in the manner laid down in this section, I think the election of the president should be left to the Council itself. If this amendment of my honourable friend is allowed, I would join the other members, who were members of the select committee, in their advice to withdraw the rest of the amendments. There are so many members on the Council nominated by the Local Government, that I think the president may well be left to be selected by the Council itself, and that is why I support the amendment.

"I am free to confess that I have not studied the various Acts of the Indian Legislatures or the English Medical Acts, as carefully as certain other honourable members have done, and have certainly not taken so much pains as the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth has taken on the question. But, on considering the effect of sections 27 and 28, I beg on broad principles to dissent from the view which the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth has put before the Council for its acceptance. The view is that, because the last amendment proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani as to the right of appeal has been rejected, therefore it follows as a necessary consequence—as the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth has put it—that the provision contained in section 28 will be implied whether we have it in the Act or not. I quite agree that if neither section 27 nor section 28 was there the power or the right of the medical practitioner to seek assistance from the court would be very limited indeed, and that quite apart from the existence of either section 27 or section 28. The very nature of the powers conferred upon the Council by the Act would entitle the Council to protection so long as those powers were exercised *bona fide* and without express malice. But I do not see how the mere fact that an appeal lies, not to a judicial authority but to an executive authority, would preclude as a consequence the jurisdiction of the civil court, unless that jurisdiction is expressly taken away. I do not therefore subscribe to the view that the mere existence of section 27 and the fact that the last amendment moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has been rejected constitute any bar to the consideration by this Council of the propriety of having section 28. As to the merits, I quite agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth that one of the consequences

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most probably would be that a person whose name has been struck out by the Council and has on appeal to the Local Government been restored on the register may still go to the civil court and claim damages for the slur cast on him by the Act of the Council and perhaps also for loss of practice during the interval between striking out the name and restoring it. But it seems to me that this is the very case which we should provide for and not provide against, because if the civil court has no power to redress the wrong which a medical practitioner has suffered, certainly the Local Government has none. The result then is that it is one of those cases where there is a wrong without a remedy. Now, I do not deny that the law itself recognizes a class of wrongs without a remedy, but the principle of those cases would not be applicable to the hypothetical case of the medical practitioner suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth. In my opinion the medical practitioner of the hypothetical case is the very person whose interest has to be safeguarded, because there is really no remedy for him anywhere for the actual damage in reputation which he might sustain. There is no doubt that he would get no damages unless he is able to prove actual malice. I do not believe that there will be one case in a thousand in which a plaintiff would be able to prove it, but still it is a right which the medical practitioner ought to have and I submit that it is a right which the law ought to recognize".

160. The Oudh Settled Estates Bill, 1916, April 2, 1917.[1]

"I have listened with much interest to the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Burn[2] and the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth, but unconvinced and unconverted I rise to support the motion which is before the Council with only one reservation. I do not know if it will be acceptable. So far as the arguments advanced against the amendment are concerned, I submit that they can be sufficiently answered and the difficulties anticipated will not arise. The Hon'ble Mr. Burn has taken his stand upon the principle that the enactment proposed is in the interest of the taluqdars: the taluqdars have not asked for the power and therefore we have no business to give them the power. Truly speaking, the enactment is in the interest of improvident taluqdars only and not of all the taluqdars, and surely it is not the improvident taluqdar who will come to the Government to ask for a check upon his power of alienation. It is really the duty of the State to devise means by making laws, when necessity arises, to prevent improvidence of the nature which this Bill is intended to provide against, and it is

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 564-66.

[2] Richard Burn, joined I.C.S. in 1889; served in North-West Provinces and Oudh; Editor, Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1905; Chief Secretary, U.P. Govt. 1912; joined India Office, London, 1918.

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the duty of the legislative body, whether that body is represented by Government alone or, as in this case, by the Council, to go into all questions of this kind, to see if a certain power ought or ought not to be given. I therefore submit that the mere fact that the taluqdars have not asked for a certain power is no argument to reserve that power to Government, if that power was a reasonable one and ought upon general principles to be given. In fact, all of us who have had to deal with a certain enactment which owed its genesis to the wishes of no less a taluqdar than the late Maharaja Man Singh[1] know what difficulties we, who have to assist the courts in the interpretation of that statute, and the courts themselves have to experience in finding out the real wishes of the taluqdars. However that may be, what I submit for the consideration of the Council is that we are responsible for enacting this piece of legislation in the interests of the taluqdars and we must judge its soundness by applying the ordinary principles which govern legislation of this kind.

"Coming to the observations of the Hon'ble Mr. Ashworth, the objection comes to this, that the law as it now stands in the Bill does not all interfere with the power of the taluqdar to deal with his property as he chooses in his life-time, and therefore the proposed amendment is unnecessary. The Legal Remembrancer is perfectly right in that; but what I take the honourable mover of the amendment to me is to add the power of bequest to that already given, so that the taluqdar may be able to make a will and charge a part of the profits of his estate perpetually for some public purpose. The whole question is whether such a power ought or ought not to be given to the taluqdar. Every person who is not a taluqdar and whose powers are not fettered by legislation has power to create a perpetual charge, not only upon a part but upon the whole profits of the estate, for a public purpose or for a charitable or religious purpose. The only reason why a taluqdar who has settled his estate may not do so is that the special object of preserving his estate to his successor as it is will be defeated by the free exercise of the power. The principle here is not only that a certain fixed sum may only be charged by the taluqdar; but also that the purpose is a laudable one. If it is a true public purpose or a charitable or religious purpose, then, like any other person, a taluqdar who has settled the whole of his estate ought to have the power to deal with it. But as I take it, the whole scope of this legislation is to protect taluqdars from their own improvidence so that the property may remain in the family. It seems to me that the amendment, which asks for a limit power of bequest, is not open to the objection raised; but I must confess that I have a difficulty of my own, and that is that in a case where the taluqdar himself is left to judge as to what or what is not a public purpose difficulties are bound to arise and to lead to litigation not only between taluqdars and the institutions in whose favour the transfer is made but among heirs as well. So if the honourable member can specify the nature of 'public purpose' his amendment would be far more definite and workable. Simply

[1]Man Singh, Maharaja, b. 1820; one of the foremost among the Oudh Taluqdars; made Honorary Magistrate, 1860; d. 1870.

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saying 'a public purpose' is not enough. In the case of a transfer *inter vivos* the guarantee is that a taluqdar will have to take the sanction of the Government, and the Government will consider the question independently and will not be actuated by the secret motives of the person who wants to dispose of the property.

"For these reasons, I sympathise fully with the object of the honourable mover, but I would ask him to specify 'public purpose' if he wants to give this power to taluqdars".

161. Resolution to ascertain Indian non-official opinion on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. April 3, 1917.[1]

Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the following resolution:

"That this Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to ascertain Indian non-official opinion in these provinces on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India before communicating the views of the Local Government to the Governor General in Council and deputing any of its officers to confer with the Government of India".

He said:—

"Honourable members will remember the chorus of disapproval with which the report of the Royal Commission was ushered into the light of day and the storm of protest which it raised as its recommendations came to be more closely examined. We were dreaming the happy dreams conjured up by the 'changed angle of vision', 'the comradeship in arms' and the magnificent sacrifices of India in men and money when the report descended upon us like a bolt from the blue and rudely awakened us to the stern realities of life. We suddenly found that we were calmly relegated by this sapient body to a position which we would have refused to accept 20 years before the war. On top of this came a somewhat disconcerting announcement by his Excellency the Viceroy, who, in his speech in the Indian Legislative Council on the 7th February, 1917, made the following observations:—'I should like now to make a brief reference to the report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India which has just been published. The recommendations in the report cover a very wide field, and comprise many important and urgent proposals. In view of this fact and of the time that has elapsed since the report was signed, it has been decided, with the Secretary of State's approval, to accelerate its consideration as much as we possibly can. We intend first to examine the general principles that the commissioners have laid down, and next to proceed

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 665-68.

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to a discussion of the detailed proposals. This would make both for expedition and for consistency. And instead of following the usual lengthy procedure of exhaustive correspondence with Local Government we propose to set out the definite issues which arise in connection with each service or department and to discuss all except unimportant cases in conference with representatives nominated by the Local Governments. From this I trust it will be clear that Government intend to deal expeditiously and in a practical spirit with the report, but in all our deliberations, we shall make it our special endeavour to regard the different questions in their proper perspective, so that the redress of pressing grievances is not postponed to less urgent reforms, and so that major questions, among which the increased employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public service is one of the most important, are not prejudiced or delayed by lesser problems which are easier to solve'. It will be noticed that this 'expeditious' treatment in a 'practical spirit' is to be in 'conference with the representatives nominated by Local Governments' and omits entirely any reference to the party most affected—the people who are directly concerned. This naturally gave rise to considerable alarm. Public meetings were held throughout the length and breadth of the country and resolutions were passed urging upon the Government the utter unsuitability of the majority of recommendations of the Royal Commission to the real requirements of the case and praying that the Government will refrain from carrying out those recommendations. Some satisfaction was afforded by the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock[1] to a question put by the Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda[2] at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 7th March, 1917. That answer ran as follows:—'In communicating the report the Secretary of State requested that the Commission's recommendations should be expeditiously dealt with and that he should be placed in possession of the Government of India's conclusions regarding them as early as possible. The procedure which the Government of India, with his approval, have decided to follow was explained in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on the 7th February last, but a detailed description is contained in the Home Department's letter of the 25th January to Local Governments and Administrations, a copy of which is placed on the table. The Government of India have no doubt that the Local Governments will be careful to ascertain non-official opinions, including that of representative Indians, on all the important questions where it will be of assistance, and they consider that the occasion and the method of such consultation may safely be left to the Local Governments' discretion'.

"This was reassuring to a degree; and was followed by a very sympathetic statement, made on the 20th March last by the same high official in

[1]Reginald Henry Craddock, joined I.C.S. in 1882; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, 1907; K.C.S.I., 1911; Member, Governor-General's Council, 1912-17; appointed Lieut.-Governor of Burma, 1918.

[2]Kamini Kumar Chanda, b. 1862; Member, Assam Provincial Council, Governor-General's Council and Legislative Assembly; President, Special Session, Bengal Provincial Conference, 1919.

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the course of the debate on the resolution of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, which was somewhat similar to, but very much wider than, the one I have the honour of moving to-day. Sir Reginald intimated that 'no great question of policy would be settled without this (the Imperial) Council having its opportunity of expressing its opinion'. The Hon'ble Pandit agreed to accept the assurance on condition that the 'expenditure regarding the recommendations would be withheld'. To this Sir Reginald replied that 'this being a time of war, naturally no appreciable expenditure would be incurred'. The resolution was accordingly withdrawn.

"After this it may at first sight appear that my resolution is superfluous. But honourable members will notice that all that our representative in the Imperial Council has secured is a hearing for himself and his colleagues, and as to the rest Sir Reginald Craddock has only expressed a pious hope that the 'Local Governments will be careful to ascertain non-official opinion'. The method of taking such opinion and the points of which it is to be taken are left to the discretion of the Local Governments. My resolution is frankly intended to obtain an authoritative pronouncement from Your Honour's Government as to how it intends to proceed in the matter of ascertaining non-official opinion and the main points or principles on which it is proposed to receive and consider such opinion. I will equally frankly tell the Council why I have considered such a course necessary. After the answer I have quoted above was given in the Imperial Council to the question of the Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda, a question was put in the Punjab Council, in reply to which it was stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Thomson that 'the representative of the Punjab Government would represent the opinion of that Government only'. No reference was made to the ascertainment of non-official opinion. It is of course no concern of ours as to how any Government other than our own intends to proceed in the matter—nor is it within my province as a member of this Council to question the propriety of that procedure—but the fact that one Local Government has, after the weighty pronouncements made by a responsible member of the Government of India thought fit to ignore non-official opinion must necessarily give rise to misgivings in our minds; and I hope your Honour will appreciate the feeling which has prompted this resolution.

"It is a matter of the utmost importance to us to know what interpretation your Honour's Government has put upon the letter of the Government of India of the 25th January last; and I think it is our duty to recommend to your Honour in the clearest possible manner that your Honour will be pleased so to arrange matters that your representative, while putting before the Government of India, the official view of this Government, may also be in a position to reflect faithfully the non-official view of these provinces. If I had the privilege of moving this resolution in the Imperial Council I should have worded it differently and asked the Government of India to have, not one, but two representatives from each province at the proposed conference; one being the representative of the Local Government and the other that of the non-official members of the Local Legislative Council to be elected by the latter. This proposal seems

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to me to be eminently practical and highly calculated to satisfy public opinion without in any way interfering with the 'expeditious' consideration of the report insisted on by the Secretary of State. I venture to make it in the hope that it may catch the eye of His Excellency the Viceroy or some other responsible member of the Government of India and be given favourable consideration. Indeed, Sir, I shall not be travelling beyond the scope of my resolution if I asked your Honour to make the suggestion to the Government of India, who are already committed to the ascertainment of non-official opinion.

. . .

"I say I shall not be travelling beyond the scope of my resolution if I asked Your Honour to make the suggestion to the Government of India, who are already committed.

. . .

"Your Honour will see that my resolution is about the ascertainment of non-official opinion. I am simply indicating the method. However, that is all I say".

. . .

"It is well-known that the unfortunate production of the Royal Commission has failed to satisfy anybody—least of all those in whose interest it was avowedly appointed. There can be no doubt that the Royal Commission owed its birth to the desire of His Majesty's Government to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Indians. I can cite no better authority for this proposition than my good neighbour of Allahabad, the *Pioneer*, whose hostility to those interests is proverbial. It opens a remarkably well-written leading article in its issue of the 5th February last with the following striking passages:—

'When we take in hand the long-expected report of Lord Islington's Commission, the first thing to bear in mind is the terms of their reference. What they were adjured to consider was the whole working of the public service in India. But special points commended to their scrutiny were "such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans and. . . the division of services into Imperial and Provincial". The Commission in fact had a thinly-veiled mandate. What was presented to them was not entirely an open issue. The premise being that the time had come to take more Indians into the higher ranks of the public service of the country, Lord Islington and his colleagues were invited to discover how and to what extent this should be done'. How far the Commission have succeeded in accomplishing the task laid on them is graphically described in the same article. It sums up the whole output of the labours of that distinguished body in a short passage which runs as follows:—'We have said that the Commission's premises do not tend to inspire confidence in the readers of their report. Still less does their method of developing or stating their conclusions conduce to a rapid comprehension of them. The truth is that very few general propositions of any value can be laid down about the service as a whole, and the Commission's attempt to deal, on common lines, with such matters as organization, recruitment, salary, service and pensions, is, to speak frankly, a failure. The main body of the report (Chapters V

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to XI) contains very little that will be of use to Government or is of interest to the reader.

. . .

"I am trying to show how non-official opinion was opposed to the recommendations in order to make out a case that the Government should consult non-official opinion."

. . .

"I am not giving non-official opinion on the various points involved in the report of the Commission. I am only giving reasons which make it necessary for the Government to ascertain non-official opinion".

. . .

"I must bow to the ruling of the chair and will not trouble the Council with the extracts from the *Pioneer*. The next point I wish to make out—I do not know how far I shall be in order—is this: I want to show that the Royal Commission have failed to discharge their duty in the manner in which they were expected to discharge it. In fact I am going to show by a comparison between the demands which we placed before them and the manner in which the Commission tried to meet them that the recommendations are wholly inadequate".

. . .

"It is rather difficult, Your Honour, to confine oneself to just the fact of the ascertainment of non-official opinion upon certain points without going into those points. However, I must bow to Your Honour's ruling and confine my remarks to only the fact of ascertaining opinion and no more. I hope I shall not be out of order if I deal with the manner in which that opinion might be ascertained".

162. Resolution on Public Services in India, April 3, 1917.[1]

"Honourable members will have noticed that the first requisite is that this report of the Royal Commission should be dealt with expeditiously by the Government of India. That is the mandate from the Secretary of State. Therefore anything that may be suggested should be something which will not in any way impair or interfere with the expeditiousness which is so much insisted upon. While the Government of India insist on expedition in this matter they also say in their letter of the 25th of January last addressed to Local Governments that 'while the Government of India trust that the scheme outlined above will enable all the recommendations in the report to be dealt with in a reasonably short time, they do not desire that this endeavour after celerity in disposal should obscure the necessity for observing a proper perspective in giving effect to the several propo-

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations,' 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), p. 670.

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sals.' I therefore submit that whatever time may be taken in the ascertainment of non-official opinion would not be against the spirit of the orders which were issued by His Excellency the Viceroy. In fact the most important and essential factor in 'observing a proper perspective' is the ascertainment of non-official opinion. The suggestion I have already made, viz., the deputation of two representatives instead of one from each province, makes for not only expeditious but a most effectual and efficient mode of dealing with the report. But there are other suggestions, and the easiest is to issue a general invitation to public bodies and individuals to submit their views on certain definite questions of principle by a given date and to impress upon them that no opinions would be received after the prescribed date. We have a number of representative public bodies in these provinces, and they may very well be invited to have their say on the subject. Then there is the precedent for a conference of leading citizens, called by the Lieutenant-Governor more or less in an informal manner. That was done, as honourable members are aware, by Sir James Meston in the matter of Hindu-Muhammadan questions. Although the conclusions arrived at by the conference never assumed a concrete shape, it eminently served the purpose of informing the Government of the various points of view of the different communities; at least of those who represented the communities. Your Honour's Government may resort to that as one possible method of ascertaining non-official opinion, but the main point of my resolution is that the Government should ascertain the real opinion of the people".

163. Message of Sympathy on Annie Besant's Internment.[1]

"I regret that owing to sudden illness I am unable to join you today. But though absent in body I am present in spirit. It was on 16th of June that the order of internment was passed. And so the 16th of every month becomes the Home Rule day. Today is the first public observance of the Home Rule day, though for us there is scarcely a day or a night which Home Rule does not claim as its own, with all the accompaniments of sorrow and disappointment which recent events have brought about. But let me assure you that if you continue to persevere in the constitutional struggle with unabated vigour characterizing your action with dignity and your speech with sobriety, you will soon convert these days and nights of sorrow and disappointment into those of uninterrupted happiness and contentment and will enjoy in the words of the poet.

[1]*The Leader*, July 19, 1917.

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"Gentlemen, I wish you every success."

164. Presidential Address at Special Provincial Congress, U.P., August 10, 1917.[1]

We are passing through times which do not admit of hollow conventionalities and if I follow, the usual practice of beginning by thanking you for the high honour you have done me in electing me to preside over your deliberations on this momentous occasion it is because I do not regard it as a mere conventionality. I consider it the proudest privilege of my life to have the confidence of my countrymen at a period of storm and stress and believe me, gentlemen, when I say that words are too poor to give adequate expression to the depth of feeling your generosity has stirred in me. My only chance of being able in some measure to justify your choice lies in the hope that you will overlook my shortcomings of which I am but too painfully aware, in the same generous spirit in which you have called me to the responsible duties that lie before me.

Dadabhai Naoroji[2]

Our first and foremost duty on this occasion, when men of light and leading in the province have assembled to assert their national rights, is to offer our humble tribute of respect to the sacred memory of the great pioneer of Indian Nationalism who has only recently passed away after a long and glorious career of selfless devotion to the cause of the Motherland. I mean the great political *Rishi*—the Grand Old Man of India—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. He showed us the path leading to our political salvation, he trod that path with unfaltering step so long as his health and strength permitted and when disabled by the infirmities of advancing age he shone in his retirement as a beacon light warning us of the shoals and breakers ahead. The G.O.M. is no more in flesh, but the noble spirit which has parted with the body it inhabited is with us and shall continue to dwell with us urging us on to the fulfilment of the message of affection and devotion he gave to the country while presiding at the Congress of 1906 in the simple words 'be united, persevere, and achieve Self-Government.' Let us bear these words of hope in mind and proceed to business.

[1] *The Leader*, August 13, 1917.

[2] b. 1825; founded London India Society, 1865 and remained its President till 1917; founder editor of the *Voice of India*, 1883; Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1885; Vice-President, Bombay Presidency Association, 1885; President, Indian National Congress, 1886, 1893 and 1906; Member, Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, also known as Welby Commission, 1897; elected to the House of Commons as a a Liberal Member, 1902; author of the well-known book, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India;* d. 1917.

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The Special Provincial Congress.

We have found it necessary to hold this Special Provincial Congress on the opening of the fourth year of a devastating world-war which so far from showing any abatement of the ghastly horrors attending it is continuing to draw nation after nation into the vortex. Our own country has played and is playing a most honourable part under the flag of our King Emperor—a part which has opened the eyes of the world to our real importance and the great destiny which lies before us. Why then is it that instead of eschewing politics altogether, as our critics would have us do, we are not only continuing the agitation on the old lines of existing political institutions but are multiplying those institutions and holding special and extraordinary meetings all over the country? There is no escape from one of the two alternatives; either those who are responsible for the agitation have all gone mad or there is solid reason behind it. Now, gentlemen, who are the persons who are leading this agitation? If there ever was any doubt about their identity it has now been cleared up by the joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League held in Bombay on the 28th and 29th July last and by the firm and clear representation they have jointly and unanimously addressed to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. Both these bodies have long outlived official suspicion and distrust and it is too late in the day now to question either the perfect legitimacy of their character or the strict propriety of their methods. I may here refer to the appreciation accorded by no less an authority than Mr. Austen Chamberlain[1] to one of these sister institutions as recently as May 1916. 'The Indian National Congress', he said, 'is an independent unofficial body. In ordinary times it is highly critical of the Government. The expression by its President and the resolution of loyalty which was passed may be taken as representative of the feeling of the great bulk of the Indian people.' The other independent unofficial body, the All India Muslim League has since joined forces with the Indian National Congress and the two together now stand on the same platform firmly united. Are the members of these national bodies which represent the best intellect and culture of the country so hopelessly insane that they are persevering in an agitation which is not only wholly unnecessary but positively harmful to themselves? If there be any who entertain such an idea all I can say is that it is high time for their friends to take care of them. The first of the two alternatives I have mentioned being thus unthinkable there is no getting out of the second.

The more thoughtful of our official critics feel the difficulty of believing that there is no real cause for the successive waves of enthusiasm which are surging through the length and breadth of the country but they are unable to make up their minds as to where to look for the true reason. This is easily explainable by the peculiar working of the official mind. It

[1]Joseph Austen Chamberlain, M.P. 1892-1914; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1903-06; Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian finance and currency, 1913-14; Secretary of State for India, 1915-17; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1919-21; Leader, House of Commons, 1921-22; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1924.

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starts with the presumption that the bureaucracy can never go wrong and naturally enough refuses to test any act or policy which bears the hall-mark of a Government secretariat as being the likely source of the trouble. The result is that where the situation is to our minds clearly traceable to an act or policy of the Government the official mind convinces itself that the root of the trouble must lie somewhere in the people themselves. This attitude of mind has been graphically, described by Mr. Gokhale in his own inimitable manner and I cannot do better than quote the words of that great apostle of Self-Government. 'My quarrel,' he said, 'is less with the official than with the system—this bureaucratic system, this monopoly of power by officials. Many of these officials are no doubt conscientious men who are trying to do their duty according to their lights. But I content that these lights are dim. Their highest idea of British rule is efficiency. They think that if they give India an efficient administration the whole of their work is discharged. But this really is not the whole duty, nor even the main duty which England has professed to undertake in India. You have pledged your word before God and man to govern India so as to enable the Indian people to govern themselves according to the higher standard of the West. If your policy is not directed to this end I shall consider you have failed.'

The theory of efficiency has been ridden to death in almost every department of the Government and is answerable for many ills that the body politic suffers from. Until recently officials, high and low, firmly believed that an efficient administration bringing in its train security of life and property was all that Indians had any right to expect, and given what the officials thought was such administration Indians ought to remain content. It is now no doubt slowly being realised that something more is necessary and that the association of the people with the Government of the country is to a certain extent desirable. The tardy steps which have been taken in that direction having so far failed to bring about any real progress, all that is considered necessary to meet the requirements of the case is vague promises of something more being in contemplation to be given effect to in the near future. This done there appears to be no reason whatever for discontent and if agitation is still persisted in it is taken to be a sure sign of evil influences at work among the people. It is impossible to spot these influences for the simple reason that they do not exist and a policy of general repression is the inevitable result. The laws of the land are brushed aside and recourse it had to a very special measure designed for an entirely different purpose.

Sir James Meston

I must here gratefully acknowledge the cool headed statesmanship of the Government of Sir James Meston in this particular. The policy so far followed in these provinces stands in marked contrast with that adopted by certain other Provincial Governments and our thanks are due to his Honour for the trust and confidence he has reposed in us by allowing us a free hand in the ventilation of our legitimate grievances in a constitutional manner. Trust begets trust and I feel sure that I am echoing the general

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sentiment of this gathering when I say that it shall be our special care in these provinces to see that the practical wisdom of the policy of non-interference with public rights pursued by Sir James Meston is fully justified by results. There have no doubt been some cases in which the action of certain district authorities does not exactly fit in with that policy but such action must in view of the general policy be attributed to individual dispositions and predilictions. It is indeed an irony of fate that we should be called upon to congratulate ourselves on being allowed to exercise the most elementary right of public meeting and freedom of speech but seeing what is happening around us we have reason to be thankful of the exceptional treatment we enjoy.

I must also take this opportunity to acknowledge the courteous opening speech delivered by Sir James Meston at the last meeting of the Legislative Council of these provinces. Here again one finds a pleasing contrast with similar utterances in other Provincial Councils. His Honour's speech is a frank avowal of the state of mind which prompted it. He had been fully convinced of the perfect legitimacy of our aspirations even before he came to us as our Lieutenant-Governor and he took the earliest opportunity of publicly declaring his conviction in reply to the address presented to him by the United Provinces Congress Committee, in the course of which he remarked that our ideal of Self-Government pursued by constitutional efforts must command esteem as a lofty and legitimate one 'though he was then of opinion that it was a long way from realisation'. During his recent visit to England as one of the representatives of the Government of India at the Imperial War Conference, his Honour was impressed with the high compliment paid to India by the dominion members of the Conference in admitting him and his colleagues to their consultations and also with the general trend of opinion in England which he found favourable to Indian aspirations. He was satisfied and thought that we ought also to be satisfied. But on his return to this country he found that the reverse was the case and was genuinely perplexed and distressed at it. 'There is' he told the Council, 'a note of suspicion and mistrust such as I have never heard before during my service in this country. The cross currents of thought and speculation which compose this feeling are too complex for me to analyse even if many of them were not invisible and intangible, but running through them all there seems to be a fear that the Government of this country is in some way preparing a policy of reaction. His Honour has here only partially realized the true state of public feeling. There is no question of merely 'preparing a policy of reaction'. What the public believe, and as I shall show later on, rightly believe, is that a policy of reaction is already in full swing. Sir James Meston very properly refrained from saying anything on the merits of what had been done or said in other Provinces but entered his 'protest against the assumption that behind these internments and these remonstrances there stands a determination to oppose India's national hopes and aspirations'. Now, gentlemen, if we can pursuade ourselves to believe that there is no occasion for the note of suspicion and mistrust which is clearly reverberating throughout the country and no basis for the idea that opposition is being

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set up to the realisation of our 'hopes and aspirations' I confess we have no business to be here to discuss the situation in a special Congress. We therefore owe it as much to Sir James Meston as ourselves to explain clearly the currents of thought with which we are troubled and to show that they are neither 'invisible nor intangible'. With this object in view I beg your permission to state briefly the principal events of the last three years which render agitation necessary and compel us to carry it on with all the vigour we can command.

The Present Agitation.

It is not necessary to take you further back than the beginning of the great world war which is put forward as furnishing the chief reason why we should exercise the virtue of patience. Sir James Meston, in the speech I have just referred to, foresaw without endorsing it 'a line of criticism which will enquire why India's insistence for new political rights became most clamant at a time when England was most pre-occupied'. My short answer to that criticism is firstly, that the present agitation is the direct and natural outcome of the events which have happened since the beginning of the war and most of the issues it raises are issues which must be dealt with during the continuance of the war; 2ndly, that India does not stand alone in her demand for her political rights which is by no means more clamant than the demands made in England and the Colonies to which no objection is raised on the score of preoccupation. Let us now see if the facts bear out the answer I have given.

When England embarked on this war of humanity and stood forth before the world as the champion of the liberties of small and weak nations a thrill of pride at our connection with her ran through the whole country. Prince and peasant alike were affected by the general enthusiasm, and offers of men and money began to pour in from every direction. The genius of Lord Hardinge[1] at once realized the supreme need of the hour and those offers were freely accepted on behalf and in the name of the King-Emperor. Soon after our brave men reached the various theatres of war to which they were despatched. Soul stirring accounts of their brilliant valour on the battle-field were flashed across the seas not only to India but to the whole civilised world. The heroism of our men and the magnificent help in money and material rendered by all the classes of the people appealed to the great English democracy as nothing else could, and leading men in England in the fulness of their gratitude poured out their hearts to us in Parliament and in the press. I could easily detain you here for the rest of the day if I were to read to you extracts from the grateful appreciations of prominent British statesmen and writers which appeared in the columns of the leading British and Indian papers in those days. For obvious reasons I shall content myself by quoting only a few of them and in doing so I must give the first and foremost place to

[1]Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, b. 1858; Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1910-16; Chairman, Royal Commission on Irish Rebellion 1916; Delegate for India at the 4th. and 5th. sessions of the League of Nations, 1923-24; d. 1944.

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the message of His Majesty the King-Emperor read by Lord Hardinge at a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council in September 1914. His Majesty was graciously pleased to say:

'Amongst the many incidents that have marked the unanimous uprising of the populations of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion by my Throne expressed both by my Indian and English subjects and by the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India and their prodigious offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm. Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in conflict has touched my heart and has inspired to the highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked my Indian subjects and myself.'

The Rt. hon. Mr. Asquith[1] said:

'We welcome with appreciation and affection their proferred aid to the Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of our common interest and fortunes'.

General French[2] said:

'One of the standing features of this, as of every action fought by the Indian Corps, is the stirring record of the comradeship in arms which exists between British and Indian soldiers. . . . The Indian troops have fought with utmost steadfastness and gallantry whenever they have been called upon. . . . At their own particular request, they have taken their turn in the trenches and performed most useful and valuable service.'

The Marquis of Crewe[3] said:

'It is perhaps even more striking, certainly no less gratifying, that those representing the various races in India, races representing a civilisation of almost untold antiquity, races which have been remarkable in arms, and the science of Government, that they should in so whole-hearted a manner rally round the British Government, most of all round the King-Emperor at such a moment as this, and I am certain that the House will desire to express through those who are entitled to speak for it its appreciation of their attitude and its recognition of the part they have played'.

Mr. Charles Roberts[4] said:

'It was clear that India claimed to be not a mere dependent of, but a

[1]Herbert Henry Asquith, b. 1852; Liberal M.P. 1886-1918 and 1920-24; Home Secretary, 1892-95; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1905-08; Prime Minister, 1908-16; created Earl, 1925; d. 1928.

[2]Johh Denton Pinkstone French, b. 1852; distinguished himself in the Nile Expedition, 1884-85; and later in the Boer War, 1899-1901; promoted General, 1907; Chief of Imperial General Staff, 1912-14; Field Marshal, 1913; placed in supreme command of British army on Western Front, resigned in 1915; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1918-21; d. 1925.

[3]Robert Offley Ashburton Crewe, b. 1858; Secretary of State for the Colonies 1908-10; Secretary of State for India, 1910-15; President, Board of Education, 1916; Chairman, Indian Constitutional Relations Committee 1919; d. 1945.

[4]Charles Henry Roberts, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, 1914-15; Comptroller of the Household, 1915; Chairman, National Health Insurance Joint Committee, 1915.

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partner in the Empire, and her partnership with us in spirit and on the battle-fields could not but alter the angle from which we should all henceforward look at the problems of the Government of India'.

Lord Curzon said:

'It would be an act of folly to refrain from using troops which were not inferior to, but in some respects the most efficient of, the whole army. The martial spirit in India is traditional and famous, and why, when we wanted every man we could get, should we refrain from employing them, because the sun happened to have looked upon them and made them dark? They would not fire on the Red-Cross badge; they would not murder innocent women and children; they would not bombard Christian Cathedrals even if to them they were the fanes of an alien faith. The East was sending out a civilized soldier to save Europe from the modern Huns.'

The Rt. hon. Mr. Austen Chamberlain said:

'And the people of India, Sepoys and Maharajas, villagers and highly educated public men, have given their support, because they are deeply convinced that in this war the British Empire is fighting in a just and righteous cause. The Indian people have a high sense of right and wrong. They saw that in this war the Allies were in the right, as they regarded the cause of the Allies as the cause of India.'

These are the pronouncements of some of the most prominent British statesmen. Let us now see what the leading organs of the British Press have to say about us.

The Times:—'It will be our part, when we have settled our affair with Germany, to see to it that as the years pass, she (India) takes an ampler place in the Councils of the Empire. Unsought, she has shown loyalty and devotion without stint. We have now to make her feel increasingly that she can best fulfil her destinies and attain her hopes within the British Empire rather than outside it. One of the greatest tasks that lies before British statesmanship in this country is to attach India freely and fully as a component part of the Empire.'

The Daily Graphic:—'Never before has India been brought so close to the heart of England, and both will gain permanently by the increased spirit of mutual confidence between Britain and India that German aggression has called into being .... Here are men not of the same race as ourselves, knowing our language only as a foreign tongue, familiar with our traditions only at second hand, and yet one and all they come forward, with a loyalty that has rarely been equalled and never surpassed, to offer their blood and treasure in the service of England. Few have dared to hope for such a universal demonstration of loyalty from the numberless multitude of varied races that make up the 300,000,000 inhabitants of the Indian Empire.

The Westminster Gazette:—'India recognises at this time that there is no other European Government which she could desire to have installed in the place of the British Raj. It is our part in return to see that she has full opportunities of working out her destinies and taking a position in the Empire which satisfied her self-respect and her pride in her ancient civilisation.'

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These extracts will serve as a fine specimen of the rest and I shall not trouble you with any more quotations.

Truly was it said that India's star was in the ascendant, but it was not realised at the time that it was destined soon to lose its lustre in the angry clouds which had begun to gather on the horizon just about the time when the world was at its loudest in praise of India's splendid rally round her King-Emperor. The thrilling accounts which reached India of the great achievements of her sons and the generous appreciation of those achievements by British statesmen, specially the marked alteration of the angle from which they began to view Indian problems, inspired new hopes in our minds. These hopes naturally found expression in the press and on the platform in India. We were, as I have shown, met with a sympathetic response in England. But this was too much for a certain section of the Anglo-Indian press whose occupation would be entirely gone if the closer connection between India and England based upon 'endurance of common suffering and devotion to the common cause' were allowed to bear fruit. The *Pioneer*, ever alert to seize the earliest opportunity to nip in the bud any attempt at recognition of Indian rights, had anticipated the danger which threatened its trade and had tried to avert it by a venomous article villifying the Indian soldier which appeared soon after the outbreak of the war. That attempt was exposed at a meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council and proved abortive. For a time our friend had to be on good behaviour but was preparing for an insidious and, therefore, a more destructive campaign which was opened some months later and was joined in due course by other Anglo-Indian papers of the same stamp. It suddenly transpired that India's help to the Empire was not adequate, that the Indian politician had done nothing to help the King-Emperor to win the war, that the Indian soldier was not suited by his constitution to trench warfare in the cold of an European winter and so on. Deprecatory notices of this nature were reiterated in paragraphs and leaderettes for some time not only in the Anglo-Indian but also in the Tory press of England and then the curtain dropped. Week after week there was no mention of India in connection with the war. India which, in the words of Lord Hardinge, had been 'bled white' in the service of the King-Emperor, ceased, as it were by magic, to claim public attention. An ominous silence ruled the land. Meanwhile Indians continued to give what their poor country could afford and for the rest trusted in the sense of justice of the British democracy and the pledged faith of British statesmen. To the best of my recollection no controversial measure was introduced and no controversial question raised by any Indian member of the Imperial or Provincial Councils for a long time after the outbreak of the war; and when the United Provinces Municipalities Bill was referred to a select committee the Indian members on that committee made a joint and unanimous representation to his Honour the President of the Council to postpone the consideration of the bill on the ground that it was a highly controversial measure. Sir James Meston, however, decided to go on with the bill which was eventually passed in spite of considerable opposition. The sequel showed that the members of the select committee who had joined in the

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representation were quite right in their apprehensions. I mention this simply to show that the bitter controversy which arose in these Provinces over the Municipalities Bill was none of our seeking.

About the same time there was a far more important measure on the anvil of the Imperial Legislative Council. I mean the unfortunate Defence of India Act which has been the cause of many of our troubles. The Indian members of the Council were not remiss in their duty to point out serious defects in the proposed legislation and they showed clearly that it was liable to be put to an improper use but accepting the assurance given at the time by Sir Reginald Craddock loyally stood by the Government and allowed the bill to be passed into law with their unanimous support. Here was a piece of most objectionable legislation, but the anxiety of the hon. members not to withhold from the Government at war time any powers, however wide and unsupportable by the most elementary principles of legislation, was so great that they did not raise any opposition to the passing of the measure. In putting the final motion that the bill be passed to the Council Sir Reginald Craddock said:—'I think it is most gratifying to find how heartily and loyally—although the task is never a pleasant one—the hon. members have come to the help of the Government in this matter.'

The Defence of India Act thus became law and it was not long after that the fears entertained by the public came to be realised. Among the earliest victims it claimed were two worthy citizens and devoted public men, the brothers Syed Mohammad Ali[1] and Shaukat Ali[2] who were interned for some unknown and unspecified offence. Anywhere but in India there would have been such a storm of protest at this clear misuse of a special Act as would have made the country ring from one end to the other. But nothing of the kind happened here. The people did not know what to think of it, and waited for some definite information as to the nature of the offence charged, but no information has yet been vouchsafed.

Course of Repression

Two days before the passing of the Defence of India Act the spell under which the people lay was broken by a decision of the House of Lords which marked the starting point of agitation in these Provinces. That was a decision setting aside the strong recommendation of the Government of India backed by the unanimous voice of the country to constitute an Executive Council for the United Provinces. It was no longer possible to remain silent and the whole Province rose as one man to protest against

[1]Maulana Mohamed Ali, b. 1878; educated at Aligarh and Oxford; edited *Comrade* and *Hamdard*; interned 1915-19; one of the prominent Muslim leaders of the Khilafat agitation; imprisoned 1921-23; President of the Coconada Congress Session 1923; thereafter dissociated from the Congress; attended the first Round Table Conference; d. 1931.

[2]Maulana Shaukat Ali, b. 1873; prominent nationalist Muslim leader; elder of the famous Ali Brothers; interned during the First World War, 1915-19; leading organiser of the Khilafat campaign, 1920-21; in later years he drifted away from the Congress; d. 1938.

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the high handed action of a few noble Lords. The memorable special conference held in Allahabad on the 30th May, 1915 which was so ably presided over by my esteemed friend the Raja of Mahmudabad[1] and was attended by all classes representing every possible interest, was the result. It will thus be seen that the people of these Provinces studiously avoided any demonstration of public feeling until they were forced to do so. They saw how unwilling the British aristocracy was to make even the poor concession of giving an Executive Council to the United Provinces, they noticed from day to day how the claims and aspirations of the Dominions were as readily accepted as they were made how India which had for a brief spell come under the sunshine of British favour was suddenly left in the cold shade of neglect; how legislation undertaken both in India and in England had the ever increasing tendency to encroach on their existing rights. The Defence of India Act was followed in England by the Indian Civil Service (temporary provisions) Act of 1915 and the Government of India Act of 1916. The first of the last two Acts was frankly aimed at preventing the larger proportions of Indians which was expected to enter the service by the continuation of the competitive examination on the old lines, by reason of the absence of British competitors at the front while the second put British Indian subjects of his Majesty on the same footing as the subjects of the feudatory and other neighbouring states in regard to public service.

These measures were followed by an unmistakable policy of repression in India. There were hundreds of internments under the Defence of India Act in Bengal, the orders relating to which never saw the light of the day. Free-born citizens were spirited away under executive orders without trial and sometimes without the knowledge of their friends and relatives. The Government of Madras which has recently carried the palm in repression began its campaign against Mrs. Besant by a demand of security for the New India Press which was duly furnished and as was expected, quickly forfeited. Then came the demand of enhanced security for the same press and this was followed by similar demands of security from Mrs. Besant as the keeper of the Vasanta and Besant presses. Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was next the subject of the attention of the Bombay Government. He was prosecuted under Section 108 of the Code of Criminal Procedure for certain Home Rule speeches which he had made. It was a bold attempt by the Executive to run the gauntlet of a judicial trial and signal failure was the result. Mr. Tilak was acquitted by the Bombay High Court. Having failed in this experiment the Government of Bombay reverted to the shelter afforded by the Defence of India Act and passed an order prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency. The example set by the Bombay Government was followed by the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar and Mrs. Besant was excluded from that Province. These were the little incidents which were happening around

[1]Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Mohammed Ali Mohamed Khan, b. 1877; Member, U.P. Legislative Council 1904; Home Member, Executive Council, U.P., First Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1920-23; presided over the Muslim League sessions 1917 and 1928; d. 1931.

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us from March 1915 to about the end of 1916.

Let us pause here and consider what we were doing meanwhile. The Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Council of the All-India Muslim League were quietly meeting and coolly considering schemes of reform to enable them to formulate a reasonable demand. After much deliberation and anxious thought a modest scheme was jointly evolved by them and was awaiting final approval of the general bodies which were to meet in full session in December last. The interval was utilised by the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council, 19 of whom presented a Memorandum to the Government of India suggesting certain reforms on the same lines. This Memorandum evoked strong and hostile criticism from the section of the Anglo-Indian press headed by the *Pioneer* and went so far as to disturb the peace of mind of Lord Sydenham[1] in his retirement in England. The noble Lord contributed a long article in the December number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* which was pub lished under the sensational heading 'The Danger in India'. I shall here give only one passage which is not only a fair specimen of the rest but afford strong evidence, if not conclusive proof, that the note of suspicion and mistrust of which Sir James Meston complained in his speech at the last meeting of the United Provinces Council has not been sounded without solid reason. Lord Sydenham says: 'In the East the frankest policy is always the best. Let the Government plainly and at once re-affirm the principle that in no circumstances will any surrender or weakening of the paramount British power in India be tolerated, at the same time explaining clearly what the proposed revolution would entail. Let it be announced in firm language which cannot be mistaken that the constitution of the Legislative Councils, which as I have explained, provides full and ample opportunity for the expression of Indian opinion will remain.'

When a retired Governor of a Presidency publicly declares that we have already got more than we deserve and that our modest demands are revolutionary, when we know that the great British democracy on whose love of liberty we have been building our hopes knows nothing about us and is too pre-occupied with its own affairs to take the trouble to ascertain the true facts, when we know that there are noble Lords and Lordlings busy at work in misrepresenting us to the great British public, we should be either more or less than human if we were to remain unaffected by what Sir James Meston calls 'the wave of impatience and distrust'. But what I have already stated represents nothing like the full measure of our disappointment. When we turn our eyes nearer home we find our Viceroy warning us against expecting any 'catastrophic changes'. This advice, coming as it did after the submission of the memorandum of 19 members of His Excellency's Council, could only be taken to refer to recommendations of that memorandum as 'catastrophic changes'. The same opinion was reiterated by Lord Chelmsford in an amplified form at the opening meeting of his Legislative Council in February 1917. Between the dates

[1]George Clarke Sydenham, b. 1848; British soldier and administrator; an authority on military matters; Governor of Bombay, 1907-12, d. 1933.

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of these Viceregal Pronouncements orders were issued in the Punjab and at Delhi under the D. of I. Act putting these provinces out of bounds for Messrs. Tilak and Bepin C. Pal. We then find the Government of Madras again to the fore with an order prohibiting Mr. Wadia[1] from delivering a speech which had been advertised, Mrs. Besant from presiding over the meeting at which Mr. Wadia was to speak and the newspapers from publishing the speech. I pass over the attitude of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi towards the Indraprastha Hindu Girls' School, the speech of Sir Michael O' Dwyer[2] in the Punjab Council and the Government of India's resolution on the Indian Defence Force with its disheartening reference to Indian 'pretensions', I also pass over Lord Pentland's[3] now famous speech in the Madras Council in which after saying that Self-Government was 'the salt and strength of the British Empire', his Excellency declared that 'all thoughts of the early grant of responsible Self-Government should be put entirely out of mind', the press communique intended to explain that speech by assuming that what we advocated was 'complete autonomy for India at the close of the war' and condemning such imaginary advocacy in unmeasured terms.

The Crowning Act

I now come to the crowning act of repression the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale.[4] Who is this foreign lady? Mrs. Besant for whom we should so-far lose our heads as to be prepared to run endless risks? Irish by birth she is by adoption as true an Indian as any born Indian can boast to be. I shall not speak here of her religious activities but with your permission will briefly refer to her educational, social and political work. The Central Hindu College of Benaras shall ever remain a standing monument of Mrs. Besant's educational work in these provinces, but it is perhaps not so widely known that she is either the founder or inspirer of numerous other educational institutions. When the Central Hindu College was taken over by the Hindu University she founded the Theosophical educational trust which in the course of three years came to have 24 schools and colleges in all parts of India under its management, not to mention schools in England, France and America. A few days before her internment she launched into existence a scheme of National Education, formed a board of trustees, drew up the tentative

[1]B.P. Wadia, b. 1881; a prominent theosophist; took part in Home Rule movement; also pioneer in Indian trade union movement; d. 1958.

[2]Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer, b. 1864; Revenue Commissioner, North West Frontier Provinces 1901-08; Acting Chief Commissioner, 1907; Agent to Governor-General, Central India, 1910-12; Lieut.-Governor, Punjab, 1913-19; responsible for the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy; Member, Committee of Army in India, 1919-20.

[3]John Sinclair Pentland, A.D.C. to Lord Lieutenant, Ireland 1886; M.P. Dumbartonshire 1892-95, Secretary, Governor-General, Canada, 1895-97; M.P., 1897-1909; Secretary for Scotland 1905-12; appointed Governor of Madras, 1912.

[4]George Sydney Arundale, b. 1878; migrated to India 1903; Principal, Central Hindu College, Benaras; interned along with Annie Besant under Defence of India Act, 1917; Principal, National University, Madras, 1917; Head of Education Department, Holkar State, 1920; President, Theosophical Society, 1934; d. 1945.

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curriculum and already made a beginning in the materialization of the scheme, all within a month.

Mrs Besant in Politics

It was in October 1913 that she first took an active part in the social and political life of the country. By the end of 1914 the *Commonweal* and *New India* attained a fairly large circulation.

Not content with editing a daily, weekly and two or three monthlies, she toured from place to place, lecturing on social and political reform, Boys Societies, Ladies' Associations, School and College anniversaries, every one of these she helped with her own characteristic energy. In Madras she found a large population of students living in miserable lodgings, sometimes in houses of ill-fame. She founded the Young Men's Indian Association. She accepted no office, as her sudden entry into the field of politics had created some unjust and ungenerous suspicions. But she contributed nearly a lakh of rupees towards the building of the Y.M.I.A. She started several hostels in various parts of Madras. The Gokhale hall and the splendid reading room, restaurant, and residential quarters for students bear testimony to Mrs. Besant's great love for students.

In the latter part of the year 1914 she threw herself into the Congress movement. She brought her great personal influence to bear upon the question of the now famous compromise. She visited Mr. Gokhale, had several interviews with him and in the Congress of 1914 it was decided to refer the question to the All-India Congress Committee. The question was decided, the breach was closed in the year 1916 and the memorable session of the year 1916 at Lucknow was made possible. To this result Mrs. Besant contributed materially.

The publication of *New India* gave birth to a new political feeling in the Presidency of Madras. Mrs. Besant took a most vigorous part in almost all the meetings, District and Provincial Conferences which were held in all the more important centres. In the spring of 1915, she presided over the United Provinces Provincial Conference and the Bihar Students' Conference.

She carried on educative and propaganda work by the publication of political pamphlets and books. Nearly a dozen *New India* pamphlets and two dozen Home Rule pamphlets, two books, 'India a Nation' and 'How India Wrought For Freedom,' form a no mean record of educative and propaganda work in addition to the magnificent service done by *New India* and to the very large number of lectures delivered by Mrs. Besant herself. The Madras Parliament started by Mrs. Besant has been doing most useful work, training the younger men in the discussion of Indian questions. Many important problems have been taken up, the most notable being that of Panchayats and cooperation. The Madras Parliament transactions form a most useful addition to the political literature of the day.

In September, 1916, the Home Rule League was started by Mrs. Besant. A special page was devoted to it in *New India*. A Home Rule League office and shop were started in Madras and the sale of Home Rule literature has

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been very large. *New India* became practically the organ of Home Rule. There is however some fatality about the use of the term Home Rule. It is said that in connection with Ireland it has gathered more or less unpleasant associations about it, that it conveys less substance and more feeling than responsible Self-Government and so on and so forth. But surely we do not want Irish Home Rule in India, and I confess I do not understand why we should fight shy of the term. We have laid down certain lines for ourselves, and formulated certain proposals for the Government. It is that which we want to have, call it what you like. The Home Rule League does not ask for more and the Congress and the Moslem League will not be satisfied with less. As I stated elsewhere, all three institutions are merely outward manifestations of the same political creed. If I may venture to offer a word of advice I would say: Let us call it Home Rule or responsible Self-Government, as it suits one's individual fancies, but let us all work with one mind, one heart, one inflexible determination to achieve the reforms which the Congress, the Moslem League and the Home Rule League have all agreed upon. I shall not detain you with the constitution and methods of this movement. It is well-known that Mrs. Besant who was herself a party to the Congress Moslem League scheme of reforms in December last, has since fully adopted that scheme without any alteration or reservation for the propagandist work of her Home Rule League; and there is now no practical difference between the ideals of the Congress, the Moslem League and the Home Rule League. Nor is there any difference between the methods except that the youngest institution has more energy and enthusiasm and is pushing on its work with greater vigour. The whole point is what is the offence of Mrs. Besant for which she has been deprived of her liberty. Her request to formulate that offence has been refused. Lord Pentland's utterances are full of vague hints about 'revolutionary agitation' 'unscrupulous attacks and insidious calumnies upon the existing administration' 'veiled menace and open defiance,' etc. But his lordship failed to put his finger upon any thing that Mrs. Besant had written, said, or done which had a tendency to revolutionize the Government. He thought it necessary to issue a press communique to explain his speech but it has not yet occurred to his Government to set the whole agitation at rest by quoting chapter and verse for the charges made against Mrs. Besant. We in these provinces where her work has lain for the most part know her better. Her whole life is an open book to us which he who runs may read. We cannot be satisfied by a mere assurance that she has gone wrong, still less by the ever shifting ground taken in the House of Commons by Mr. Chamberlain in answer to questions. We will not accept any statement against her which is not fully substantiated. We hear much of loyalty in these days. It has been dinned into our ears so often in season and out of season that perhaps some of us have lost sight of the real meaning of the word. It is said and said truly that we are loyal to our King-Emperor but when that is said the whole meaning of the word is not exhausted. For loyalty is the finest word in the English language—loyalty to a friend, loyalty to a leader, loyalty to a cause—and it embraces many other beautiful things. Are we not going to be loyal to this lady

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who has been our friend, and our leader, and who represents our cause? I mean no disrespect to the other leaders who have laboured for the last 30 years for the same glorious ideals. All honour to them for their patient and ceaseless endeavour. It was they who laid the foundation for India's freedom and this rendered the superstructure we see rising today possible. They are of the Immortals who have served and suffered and shall live enshrined in the heart of future generations. But what shall I say of this noble lady coming from a far off land to serve and suffer for us? We must be fallen indeed if we stand by and see her deprived of her liberty because she served us too well. "Gentlemen, we are asked to be patient, to suspend all agitation till after the close of the war, to live in hope and trust. Are we patiently to look on while our great benefactress in her old age and feeble health is pining away in her prison house at Ootacamund? Are we thus to reward her great love for our motherland? Better to die for shame than live in hopes of our betterment while she continues to suffer.

Gentlemen, I have already detained you at considerable length but the tale of our woes is not yet complete. The internment of Mrs. Besant and her worthy lieutenants was by no means the last act of repression. The right of public meeting has since been denied both in the new and the old capital of India, not to mention the petty annoyances to which the country has been subjected by various official acts, in different parts of India. The Calcutta meeting as you know was to be presided over by no less distinguished an Indian than Sir Rashbehary Ghosh—but distinguished and undistinguished have both come under the ban. Lord Ronaldshay has made a speech at Dacca on lines least encouraging to our aspirations while Lord Pentland who may be said to have been the first in the field has further signalised his rule by the latest act of repression, the deportation of Mr. Karandikar, sub-editor of *New India* from Madras. The future lies on the knees of the High Gods.

Further comment on the facts I have given is needless. Can any one in view of these facts say that our agitation is premature or that we have no substantial reason to entertain the fears and apprehensions which I frankly confess we do entertain. H.E. the Viceroy has not made any public announcement since the internment of Mrs. Besant, but the fact that Mr. Austen Chamberlain has expressed his approval of the action of the Government of Madras clearly shows that the intermediate authority of the Government of India is equally satisfied with that action. Besides, the actions of the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta are believed to be in conformity with the directions laid down in a certain confidential circular issued by the Government of India to all Provincial Governments. I have not had the privilege of seeing this circular but there is no doubt that much of the suspicion and mistrust, which now prevails is laid at the door of that particular circular. If it is not a document of the nature it is supposed to be its immediate publication would do much to allay public excitement. However that may be, the fact remains that we must guide ourselves by the facts before us and the irresistible inferences that as reasonable men we must draw from those facts. These facts point to one

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course and one only, viz., the vigorous continuation of the agitation on which we are engaged.

What They have been doing in England and the Dominions

Let us now see if we are doing anything which other parts of the Empire have refrained from doing out of patriotic motives. While in India we are admonished not to raise controversial issues, and to concentrate on war work, in other parts of the Empire, especially in Great Britain the work of reconstruction and reform has been going on at a rapid pace. There is no department of national life in England which has not come under review, and in connection with which recommendations for improvement have not been made, Committees and Commissions have considered and reported on educational, industrial, social, economic and political reforms of far-reaching character. Only recently the Speakers' Conference made radical recommendations for electoral reform, which have been incorporated in a Bill called the Representation of the People Bill. The provisions of the Bill were described by Lord Curzon the greatest revolution since the Reform Act of 1832. They included such controversial subjects as that of women's suffrage. The question of the reconstitution and reconstruction of the House of Lords is also under consideration. Besides these numberless activities for reconstituting national life, which could not but have distracted attention from the immediate duty of vigorously prosecuting the war there were other activities which directly interfered with military preparations. Since the war broke out, there have been numerous strikes of coal-miners, ship-builders, engineers, munition-makers, and others for the purpose of securing for themselves better terms. Only recently, there was a general strike of munition workers in almost all the industrial districts, and the situation became so grave and threatening that eight commissions had to be appointed to enquire into the causes of the labour troubles. There is quite a strong party of socialist and labourites which has been advocating immediate peace and interfering with the vigorous prosecution of the war. A Conference of this party, representatives of labour and socialist organisations in England was held not long ago at Leeds, and was attended by over 1,000 delegates, at which a resolution greeting the Russian revolution was passed, and it was also decided that Councils of Workmen and Soldiers on the Russian model should be established in every district. Conferences of such Councils have already met in three or four places, and recorded resolutions in favour of immediate peace. We all know what attitude Ireland has adopted in the struggle. Its rebellious attitude has been a source of great anxiety and weakness to the United Kingdom in the prosecution of the war, and yet steps have been taken to give it a form of Government to be agreed upon by its people. We know that, in South Africa, there was a serious outbreak at the beginning of the war, and that there is a party there which is advocating the establishment of a republic. In Australia, there were

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grave disorders when Mr. Hughes[1] wanted to introduce conscription. Parliament had to be dissolved, and a general election held. In Canada, recently, a general election was decided upon to settle the issue of conscription. Canada in the midst of the war, has raised the tariff against the United Kingdom, although the latter has been making large advances to it. In Australia, there were such serious strikes that the manufacture of munitions was considerably interfered with. They resulted in a grave coal crisis, and ships were prevented from sailing with urgent supplies for England. Whilst the Dominions have received advances from England of about 146 millions sterling since the outbreak of the war, all borrowing on account of India, in that country, has been stopped. On the contrary, India's reserve balances have been utilized to afford accommodation to Great Britain for the purposes of the war.

India's Attitude Correct and Helpful Throughout

Throughout, India has maintained the most correct and helpful attitude. We have avoided raising all controversial issues as far as we could. We have been asking for political reforms in the most constitutional and reasonable manner. The nature of our demands has been admitted to be legitimate and laudable. Nothing has been done to embarrass the Government or to interfere with war work. In face of these incontrovertable facts who can have the courage to say that we are taking undue advantage of the pre-occupation of England?

I hope, gentlemen, I have now fully justified the answer I gave at the beginning of my address to the line of criticism which Sir James Meston indicated in the course of his last speech in the Council.

Our Plain Duty

It now remains for me to say what is our plain duty in the circumstances. We claim to be reasonable men and as such we have through our great National institutions submitted a scheme of reforms to which we consider we are entitled as a first instalment towards the grant of full responsible Self-Government in due course. What we have asked for is to our minds the irreducible minimum of real power which ought to be invested in us. But we grant that we are not infallible. We are open to conviction and are prepared to negotiate on the basis of our scheme. It is not correct to say that we are asking for the whole loaf in the expectation of getting a slice.

It is equally incorrect to say that we are revolutionaries and will have nothing but full responsible Self-Government at once. Much powder and shot has been wasted by certain Provincial Governors to demolish this fanciful idea. It was never entertained by any responsible member of the Congress, Moslem or Home Rule Leagues. Our position has been

[1]William Morris Hughes, b. 1864; settled in Australia, 1884; M.P. for Bradfield in Federal Parliament of Australia; Minister for External Affairs, 190.; Attorney-General, 1908-09, 1910-13 and 1914-21; Prime Minister of Australia, 1915-22; Minister for External Affairs, 1921-23; Vice-President, Executive Council, Australia, 1934-35 and 1937-38; Minister for Health and Repatriation, 1934-35 and 1936-37; d. 1952.

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clearly stated in the representation recently made by the joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. That representation embodies our answer to the policy of repression in a dignified and emphatic manner. It makes it clear that the newly awakened spirit is not to be suppressed by the Defence of India Act or the Press Act. It asks for the complete reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate release of the interned patriots while demanding that the Congress-Moslem League scheme of reforms be given effect to after the close of the war it invites the Government to publish its own proposals for public discussion. It insists on an authoritative pronouncement pledging the Government to a policy of making India self-governing member of the British Empire being made at an early date. We ask for no more and shall be satisfied with no less.

The most significant resolution passed by the joint session requires the various committees and councils of the Congress and the Moslem League to consider and report on the advisability of adopting a policy of passive resistance. Passive resistance, brother delegates, is the strongest weapon of the weak. But remember that it is a two-edged weapon and entails great suffering and sacrifice. It is only to be resorted to when all other means of protest fail, it is therefore a most significant sign that the leaders of the two great political bodies of India should be of opinion that we have arrived at a stage when it is necessary to consider the question and call for the opinion of the country. It is not for me to anticipate the final verdict of the Congress and the Moslem league and I shall therefore say nothing more about it.

One word more, and I shall have done. It is obvious that we can expect nothing from a foreign bureaucracy. Our interests are directly opposed to theirs, our gain cannot but be their loss. All power is at present centred in them, and it is only natural that they should be unwilling and indisposed to part with it or even a fraction of it, without a struggle. The great majority of these alien officials no doubt use that power in what they honestly conceive to be in the best interests of the country. But their conception of our rights and needs and of their own duties and privileges d ffers radically from ours. They are so hide bound by the precedents and the traditions of their service that they persist in the belief that the benevolent despotism that was good enough for us a hundred years ago must be good enough for us today. They are devoted worshippers of the fetishes, prestige and efficiency and cannot understand that those high Gods cannot help to solve the grave issues that have arisen in this country. These bureaucratic rulers of ours are almost completely lacking in imaginative conception, sympathetic uuderstanding, and intelligent enterprise. The natural craving of the human mind for liberty of speech and action is attributed by them to a contumacious desire to subvert all Government. They fail to realise how deeply interested we are in their maintenance and the permanency of the British connection with India, and accuse us of the suicidal folly of seeking to sever that connection. A serious conflict has thus arisen. Every step in advance

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that we take is in their view a step towards revolution. In these circumstances, who is to be the arbiter of our destinies? Who is to stand between the bureaucracy and us? What is our plain duty? Gentlemen, the great British democracy is the sole tribunal appointed by Providence to decide between us and the bureaucracy, and our plain duty is to press our case persistently and with unremitting determination before that tribunal by every possible constitutional means open to us.

There was some interruption here, to which the President said in reply:

Gentlemen, I have considered these questions; I have thought over them. I have spent sleepless nights over them. Who else is the arbiter of our destinies if it is not the British democracy? (Cries of 'ourselves'). Has any one ever heard of a man deciding his own case when it is opposed to an adversary? My point is. Here is a question arising between us and the bureaucracy, who is to decide it? If the answer is one of the parties shall decide it, I say it is trash; it is impossible; it has never been done; and it can never be allowed. There must be a third judge. You cannot say that one of the parties shall decide the question. It is the great British democracy who should decide it. If it is not the British democracy you say it is yourselves. Have the courage to say how you are going to decide it. Is there anyone in this audience who will stand face to face to me and say that revolution is the process by which we will do it (Cries of 'no. no.') How then are you going to decide it? By what means? What is the power in your hands? How are you going to force the bureaucracy? (Cries of 'by soul force.') Our plain duty is, I say, to press our case persistently. The great British democracy is the sole tribunal appointed by Providence and our plain duty is to press our case persistently with undiminished determination before that tribunal by every possible constitutional means open to us. In doing so we must necessarily run the risk of abuse and misrepresentation. We must be prepared to run the risks and what is of even more importance, we must be prepared courageously to take the consequences of our activities, whatever may be the sacrifice demanded of us (cheers). If you had only the patience to listen to what I was going to say you would not have interrupted me in the manner in which you did.

The President concluded his address as follows;—

If we cannot demonstrate to ourselves and our fellow subjects throughout the Empire that we earnestly and honestly believe in our cause, if we cannot convince them of our undying belief in ourselves and the greatness of our destiny as an integral part of this great Empire, we shall have deserved all the taunts that have been levelled against us by those who are opposing our movement of national uplift. But I am confident that we shall prove true to our faith and our people, and that, come what may, we shall not rest until we have achieved our goal.

(Loud cheers.)

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165. Speech on Release of Annie Besant, Arundale and Wadia.[1]

Ladies and gentlemen,—Allow me to congratulate you on the happy release of the interned martyrs, Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. I am happy to inform you that they are at the present moment breathing in the atmosphere of freedom. But this is not all. I have another piece of good news for you. Orders have been issued for the release of Messrs. Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. Only three days ago we assembled on these grounds to hold our monthly meeting of sorrow and protest. We are here on the same grounds today, Hindus and Mussalmans thankful to a merciful Providence which has substituted pleasure for pain, rejoicing for sorrow. The 16th of September was the day of sorrow and disappointment, the 17th of September saw the release of the interned patriots. During the short interval of 24 hours not only did general mourning give place to universal rejoicing but the first great success of the movement of Home Rule for India was accomplished. Is there any one in the audience who entertains the doubt that this success was due to anything other than the presistent agitaion which has been carried on in the country from one end to the other during the last three months? No Government, however strong, could shut its ears to a public demand made with such persistence and determination.

The poet has sung.

صدائے خلق کو نقارۂ خدا سمجھو

'God proclaims His will by the voice of the public.'

What Government that does not listen to that voice can last for any time? I thank you, citizens of Allahabad, and with you the citizens of numerous other towns in India, who by attending Home Rule meetings in their thousands raised the formidable voice which has brought about the joyous occasion. You will now realize the unconquerable force of the constitutional agitation on which you have been engaged for the last three months, and I have no doubt that you will continue it in the same sober, steady, and lawful manner in which you have so far carried it on till you reach the goal of your aspirations. You, home-rule soldiers, fully armed with constitutional weapons, first sprang into the field of constitutional struggle on the day when Mrs. Besant was unjustly interned. You have just achieved your first success, but pardon me if I say that you are yet far—very far—from final victory. Do by all means celebrate your, first success, but for Heaven's sake do not lose your heads over it. You have not yet reached even the lowest rung of the ladder, and it is a long and arduous one to climb. Prepare yourselves for greater and yet greater sacrifice which is necessarily involved in carrying on a strictly constitutional struggle. Fix your unerring gaze on

[1] *The Leader*, September 22, 1917. This is an English version of the speech delivered in Urdu by Motilal Nehru at the meeting of the Home Rule League, Allahabad.

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the law and the constitution and advance with unfaltering steps to the goal. I am sure there is not one in this audience who is not impressed with the true statesmanship of Mr. Montagu[1] and H.E. the Viceroy in boldly releasing Mrs. Besant and her coworkers in spite of the opposition of the Governor of the presidency in which they were interned. Lord Pentland has made no secret of his own bent of mind and has deliberately thrown away the one chance he was given to right himself with the public. Mark the bad grace with which he issued the order of release. It was not because he was convinced that he was doing the right thing but he passed the order only in deference to the strong recommendation of the Government of India. Could the bureaucracy, in perpetual terror of the bogey of its own prestige, uninfluenced by the broad minded statesmanship of our present Secretary of State, have dared to make what is euphemistically called a strong recommendation to the Governor of a presidency against his own will? There is not a child in India now who can persuade himself to believe that it could. That being so we have reason to be truly grateful to Mr. Montagu and H.E. the Viceroy for the courageous step they have taken. But what is the best form in which we can express our gratitude? In words? No. The most effective way of doing so is to carry on our agitation with unabated vigour. You will perhaps wonder how we can possibly be taken to express our gratitude for what has already been conceded by asking for more and more. I shall tell you why. I see a storm of great intensity brewing in the horizon which is threatening to burst on the devoted heads of Mr. Montagu and H.E. the Viceroy. The bureaucracy having failed, Anglo-India in a body has taken a mighty resolve to come to its rescue. The Anglo-Indian press and the various Anglo-Indian associations have already threatened a furious agitation which no Secretary of State or Viceroy can stand. The old days of the Ilbert Bill[2] are to be revived. We are all painfully aware how even a Viceroy of the calibre of Lord Ripon had to yield to the iron will of Anglo-India in those days. But ladies and gentlemen, the India of today is not the India of 30 years ago. There was practically no Indian public opinion in those days and poor Lord Ripon had to contend against overwhelming odds almost single handed. The India of today is very different. The giant of Indian public opinion now rests its head on the Himalayas and stretches its feet to Cape Comorin; its right hand extends to the banks

[1]Edwin Samuel Montagu, b. 1879; Parliamentary Secretary to Chancellor of Exchequer 1906-08; Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister 1908-10; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India 1910; Financial Secretary 1914; Privy Councillor 1915; Minister of Munitions 1916; Secretary of State for India 1917-22; In 1918, he along with the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford made proposals which formed the basis of the Reforms as envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1919, introducing dyarchy in the provinces; d. 1924.

[2]The Bill was introduced by Sir Courtenay Peregrine Ilbert, as Law Member of the Governor-General's Council in 1883. The object of the Bill was to remove discrimination against the Indian Magistracy trying Europeans in India. This created an uproar among the Anglo-Indian and European community in India leading to agitation against Lord Ripon as a result of which he resigned. This controversy left a lasting impression on the Indians and created racial bitterness among the rulers and the ruled.

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of the Indus and the left plays with the waters of the Brahmaputra. Anglo-India, beware how you challenge this giant to equal combat. Take counsel with your own interests and busy yourself with your old occupations. If not we are ready to meet you.

Ladies and gentlemen, you will now see how necessary it is to carry on our agitation not only in our own interests but also in that of the Government of India. It is, I maintain, impossible to show our gratitude to that Government in a better and a more fitting way than by strengthening its hands against the common enemy. This, by the grace of God, we shall do and I repeat before I sit down that it is our paramount duty to carry on the agitation with all the strength we can command.

166. Resolution on Thomason Engineering College, Roorkee, October 1, 1917.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved:—

"That this Council recommends to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to convey to Mr. W.G. Wood,[2] Principal of the Thomason Engineering College, Rurki, an expression of the Government's strong disapproval of the remarks quoted below which he is reported to have made in the course of the address he recently delivered to the Indian students of that College, and to ask him to withdraw publicly the reflections he made therein:—

'Now, it is an undoubted fact that all over India, in the schools and colleges, and very markedly in the universities, there is a great deal of what I may call 'crookedness' such as occasioned the late Calcutta scandal, to which I have just referred. What does this all point to? It means that a great many of the so-called Indian gentlemen are not gentlemen at all. Now, to be perfectly candid with you, I will tell you what is, I consider, the real cause of all this crookedness. It does not lie so much at the doors of the students themselves as in their home environment. There is undoubtedly a spirit of intrigue rife in a great many Indian homes, and the Indian student frequently passes the earlier years of his life in an atmosphere which is saturated with intrigue, so that if the boy starts his school or college career without the first essentials of a gentleman, it is not so much his own fault as that of his environment'.

He said:—

"The resolution that stands in my name on the agenda does not need any speech in its support, and I consider it enough to commend it to the acceptance of the Council after stating the terms in which it is couched.

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1917* (Allahabad, 1917), pp. 1071-72, 1074 and 1237-38.

[2]Walter Gunnell Wood, an engineer by profession; served in N.W. Provinces and Oudh; Chief Engineer, and Secretary to Government in Public Works Department, 1912; appointed Principal Thomason Engineering College, Roorkee, 1916.

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It runs thus:

"It is scarcely necessary for me to say that the extract I have just quoted has filled the Indian mind with just indignation throughout the country. There could hardly have been any justification for the language used had it been applied to the coolies who work on the roads and bridges constructed by Mr. Wood. It is nothing short of a gross crime to apply it to the class of persons to whom it was addressed. It betrays, to use Mr. Wood's own expression, a crookedness far worse than that which he attributes to the students and to Indians. I cannot conceive, Sir, that there can be any Indian or European member in this Council who will find the least justification for a general vilification of the whole nation. I am aware that Mr. Wood occupies a unique position, and that it was only at the last Council meeting at Lucknow that he was fortunate enough to receive at the hands of Your Honour high praise for, above all things, his good manners. I am free to confess that that the praise came upon us as a surprise, having regard to the fact that the resolution which I have the honour to move was on the agenda of that meeting and was not moved only because of my unavoidable absence. However that may be, it is no concern of mine as to what is and what is not good manners in the opinion of the Government; I can only be guided by my own conceptions of the subject, and, judging the utterance of Mr. Wood by those conceptions, I have no hesitation in saying that it shows an absolute lack of good manners and a complete ignorance of the conditions of Indian life. The subject, however, is a painful one, and I do not wish to enlarge upon it unnecessarily, especially at this stage, because I hope and trust that the resolution will be accepted by the Government in its entirety and that a most unpleasant incident will be finally closed. For the present, therefore, I will simply lay the resolution before the Council with these few remarks and, if necessary, I shall supplement them later".

. . .

"I am extremely sorry that I am not in a position to accept the statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Burn as sufficient and satisfactory enough to close this very sad incident. It is in fact a statement which in a manner justifies what has been said, and also explains that the occasion upon which it was delivered was such as would call for some remarks of the kind that Mr. Wood made. Now, Sir, I put it to the European members of this Council whether any principal or any educational authority in England would have dared to generalize in the manner in which Mr. Wood has done? Whether a number of English boys could be told by any teacher, any responsible teacher, professor or principal, that the reason why they misbehaved on any particular occasion was to be found not in the boys themselves but in their parents, in their environment, in the intrigues and practices going on amongst them? Would any English parent for a moment have put up with such treatment and remarks? Would, Sir, not the cry have been raised in the whole country asking for the instant dismissal of the man who made such insulting remarks which involved a whole nation, and would that principal or professor or teacher have been safe even for a short time? I submit, Sir, that it is all very well to say that Mr. Wood

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did not intend, as indeed he does say in his letter, to injure and hurt the feelings of anybody but if I am to give Mr. Wood credit for the most ordinary common sense and credit for knowing the meaning of the words he used, then there is no escape from the proposition that he must have known that he was not accusing the boys, but their parents and their surroundings and not only that but the whole private and domestic life of Indians. That being so, I expected a more unconditional apology from Mr. Wood than the words forthcoming, and in the absence of such I submit that my self-respect prevents me from accepting this as enough, and I ask the Council to consider the resolution".

. . .

"With Your Honour's permission, I desire to make personal statement with reference to yesterday's proceedings. As mover of the resolution relating to Mr. Wood's speech I felt, and still feel, that I had a right to reply at the conclusion of the debate which I was not allowed to exercise. When I got up in the middle of the debate it was in answer to an inquiry made by Your Honour whether I would withdraw the resolution. The object of my resolution, as the Council is aware, was to obtain an expression of disapproval of the Government of the aspersions by Mr. Wood in his speech made at Roorkee and also a retractation by him of those aspersions. It was evident from what Your Honour was pleased to say yesterday that the Government did disapprove of that part of the speech, but that it considered the letter of Mr. Wood as a sufficient retractation of and apology for the same. It was only a clear expression to that effect that I and my friends who supported the resolution had wished".

167. Resolution Expressing Sorrow at the Death of Sir Sundar Lal, March 12, 1918.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru said:—

"As one of the oldest colleagues of the late Sir Sundar Lal I beg Your Honour's permission to move the following resolution for the acceptance of this Council:—

'That this Council desire to place on record their profound grief and sense of loss at the untimely death of the Hon'ble Sir Sundar Lal, Kt., C.I.E., LL.D., their eminent and valued colleague. They desire also that an expression of their sympathy be conveyed to Lady Sundar Lal and the other members of his family'.

"The tribute which Your Honour has just paid to the memory of Sir Sundar Lal shows the high esteem in which he was held by the Government, and I think I am only voicing the general sentiment of the non-

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations* (Allahabad, 1918), pp. 106-7.

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official members when I say that we feel that in him we have lost a tower of strength. There were, of course, differences of opinion between him and some of us on certain questions which came up for discussion in this Council, but that was inevitable and perfectly natural. It is impossible to conceive of a body of thinking men who would always agree upon every subject. It did, therefore, happen sometimes that a particular view advocated by the late Sir Sundar Lal appealed more strongly to the Government than it did to his non-official colleagues, and rarely, very rarely, indeed it also did happen that his view was not at all acceptable to some of his non-official colleagues. But the fact remains that his opinions and his views were generally accepted. It was not often that he took part in the debates in this Council, but when he did his speech was characterized by a sweet reasonableness which very often changed the course of the debate and raised the tone of the discussion. It was in committees, however, that his influence was most strongly felt. I can recall many occasions to my mind when his words were taken both by officials and non-officials as the last word on the subject. As Your Honour has observed, ample tribute has been paid to his many and sterling qualities both as a private gentleman and as a professional man, and I do not propose to detain the Council by dwelling on them. I will only say that there cannot be any doubt that in him these provinces have lost their worthiest citizen. With these few remarks I beg to move this resolution and to join respectfully with Your Honour in the expression of grief and sympathy which Your Honour has just made".

168. Resolution Regarding the Appointment of a Governor-in-Council for United Provinces, April 9, 1918.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru said:—

"The honourable mover has invited the Government not to resist this resolution. He has extended no such invitation to his non-official colleagues, and I feel I have a free hand in the matter. The honourable mover desires it to be communicated to the Government of India that it is the wish of these provinces to be placed under a Governor-in-Council and the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary has announced that the Government is willing to communicate the resolution as embodying the wishes of this Council. I feel it my duty to say a few words, as it is at least not my wish that any such communication should be made. Your Honour, the question of a Governor-in-Council for the province is as old as the hills, and I fully agree in all the arguments which the honourable mover has adduced in support of his resolution. But what puzzles me is that at this particular

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations* (Allahabad, 1918), pp 630-32.

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juncture when we are on the eve of important pronouncements on the whole question of constitutional reforms, as the honourable mover himself has admitted in another connection, the redoubtable supporter of the Congress-Moslem League scheme should pick out the least important item on the programme as a fit subject to move a resolution upon. There are other proposals on the agenda, such as the larger representation of the people on the Council of the Empire, a real control of the public purse and similar other matters which are of far greater moment to us than a Governor-in-Council. Why should the latter be singled out for a special communication to the Government? I have failed to discover this from the illuminating speech which the honourable mover has delivered in support of his resolution. Perhaps he will enlighten me in his reply. Meanwhile, in the absence of any good reason that I am aware of, I can only deal with the question as it strikes me. To my mind it will not be in our interest to send this request to the Government of India unaccompanied by an expression of our wishes on more important points. Your Honour, if there is one thing more than another to which I cannot be reconciled it is tinkering with serious problems, and with due deference to my honourable friend I must say that his resolution strikes me as an attempt at such tinkering. What we want and what we have been promised is a substantial transference of real power in the Government of the country into our hands. A Governor-in-Council is a very good thing indeed and I have never doubted it. But what is the quantum of substance in it? Putting on it the highest market value it can command it comes to this that one or perhaps two Indian members would be appointed to the Council of the Governor. Who those members would be nobody knows—my honourable friend is perhaps better informed on the subject—but whoever they may be it is certain that under existing conditions they will not be the chosen of the people. What then does it matter to us whether we have or we have not a Governor-in-Council? The nature of the administration remains the same. We are fighting for the introduction of an effectual popular element in the administration. Our experience of other provinces where they have Governors-in-Council teaches us what to expect in these provinces. As is well-known the Indian member is selected from among persons known as 'safe men'. I do not say it is a disqualification to be a 'safe man', but I would rather have a man of my own choosing than a 'safe man' of the Government. I shall bow to your 'safe man' when he is appointed, as I am in courtesy bound to do, but if he comes all by himself unaccompanied by necessary reforms in other and more important directions, I shall not accept him as even a partial fulfilment of the solemn pledge that has recently been given. If Your Honour's Government is prepared to communicate the wishes of the people of these provinces to the Governmnet of India it must be what they really desire and not a mere shadow of it. We all know that the honourable mover has a capacious memory and it is quite possible that he may confront me with my past utterances on the question. He may say that he is not asking for anything that I have not myself advocated. I am fully aware that I have done so, and I am also fully aware that time was when I set my heart on a toy and

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was thoroughly satisfied when I got it. That toy, Sir, will not satisfy me now. I feel that I am old enough to come into my own and shall not be satisfied unless and until I have done so.

"Honourable members might think that it is their duty to vote for it on the principle that something is better than nothing, or, in other words, that half a loaf is better than no loaf at all; but I beg in all humility to point out to them that this state of mind is not conducive to the attainment of their heart's desire which I am sure is identical with mine. If you ask for a trinket when you are entitled to a jewel, you may be sure that you will never see the jewel. For these reasons I oppose the resolution, but at the same time I want to make my position perfectly clear. I do not oppose it because I am opposed to the appointment of a Governor-in-Council. We have been fighting for it for years past. It has a long history which goes back to a hundred years or more. But I oppose it because I feel that by such partial communication of our wishes as this resolution aims at we are putting in the forefront something which is of the least importance and throwing in the background the more important reforms about which we feel keenly".

169. Letter to the Editor: The Allahabad Poor House.[1]

SIR,—Mr. G.L.A. does not seem to be aware of the history of the poor house and for his information I will tell him what I know. I know something about it for over 16 years. I lived near the poor house building for two years and sometimes saw it occupied. For the greater part of 16 years the building has remained vacant. When it was occupied it was occupied by a Christian family by no means so poor as to be entitled to seek the hospitality of the public. So far as I know the members of the poor house committee have never taken any interest in the building. During the time that I lived near the poor house building, I never saw any enquiries being made by the members about the position of the men living in it. The building was left to take care of itself. Munshi Banke Behari once thought of reviving interest in it during the time of Mr. Hopkins[2] when the latter was the Collector of Allahabad. Mr. Hopkins offered his help in the matter by examining the agreement entered into between the poor house committee and the Government and discovered that the poor house not having been utilized, the building had vested in the Government under that agreement. He told me that the land would not be made over to any body as it was required for the *Ramlila* and there was no other ground where the children of the *mohalla* could play. I reported this to Munshi Banke Behari and the matter was not pressed any further.

[1] *The Leader*, May 23, 1918.

[2] Henry Mayne Reid Hopkins, served in North-Western Provinces and Oudh; Magistrate and Collector 1900; Opium Agent, 1911; Commissioner, 1915; Officer on Special Duty, 1916-17.

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As Mr. G.L.A. has again raised the question I would like to say that the revival of the poor house will be a sort of taxation to keep up a thing which is not wanted. We have seen that no one has lived there for years, even though the building has always remained open and that there has been no one to look after it. Why then force it upon the people who do not want it? Making over of the ground to one of the two boarding houses situated on either side of it is equally inadvisable. Those who live in Colonelganj know that there are only two plots of land at present vacant where the children of the *mohalla* go to play in the evenings. One is the plot of land in question and the other is the land at the Bharatdwaj. The children living in Colonelganj are not so few as Mr. G L.A. thinks. You find them playing both at the Ramlila ground and near the Bharatdwaj. Occupy either of these plots of land and you deprive them of the only recreation they have. Surely, the children outside the boarding house deserve as much sympathy as the boys living in the boarding house.

Allahabad, May 20. M.N.

170. Resolution Welcoming the Scheme of Constitutional Reforms, August 12, 1918.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru said:—

"I am practically in the same position as my friend the Hon'ble Saiyid Wazir Hasan[2], because I also belong to a political organization which has most distinctly expressed itself in past years upon the subject in hand, and it is expected that by the end of this month both the organization, namely, that to which I belong and also that to which my friend the Hon'ble Saiyid Wazir Hasan belongs will again express themselves upon the same subject and more particularly upon the reform proposals. But, Sir, I take a somewhat different view of my duty under the circumstances, I think, as my friend does, that I am bound by the pronouncement of the body to which I belong, until that pronouncement is in any way modified, reconsidered or altered; but at the same time we are here in order to discuss certain proposals on their merits, and I feel I am entitled to express my individual opinions upon these proposals, quite apart from what the opinion of the organization, as a whole will be when it meets. The only thing that I wish to make clear is that the fact of my taking part in this debate does not imply the surrender of any of the essential principles which have been laid down by the joint scheme of the Indian National Congress and the

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1918* (Allahabad, 1918), pp. 793-95.

[2] b. 1874; Secretary, All-India Muslim League, 1912-19; Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1913-16; Member, AICC, 1919; Judge of the Chief Court of Oudh, 1925; Chief Judge, 1930; d. 1947.

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Moslem League. With that reservation, I think I am at liberty to take part in this debate.

"As to the resolution which has been brought forward by my friend Rai Anand Sarup Bahadur, I am afraid it is difficult for me to support him. I have made, I can assure you, during the last half an hour or so, as genuine an effort as the framers of the report did in framing it, to summon all the faith and the devotion in me to help me in joining me in the hallelujahs with which this Council chamber rang, and I confess that my faith has broken down under the extreme strain put upon it. To express gratitude for all official acts, whatever their character, is the natural outcome of centuries of bureaucratic rule. Such gratitude I do not say is not sincere. On the contrary, I believe it is genuine and sincere, for the simple reason that the official act in question might easily have been worse. In that sense, of course, it is easy to agree with all that my friend the honourable mover of this resolution has said. But when he asks us to join with him in saying that it is a genuine advance and a substantial step towards responsible government, I feel it my duty to cry halt. The document before us is undoubtedly a most remarkable state document. That it is the result of anxious thought and stupendous industry there cannot be two opinions. The distinguished authors by their position deserve and are entitled to, our highest respect, and I yield to none in giving them their due. The lavish bestowal of time and energy, the masterful treatment of the subject, the clear reasoning and the abstract principles which have been laid down, all command my sincere admiration. But before I indulge in any effusions of gratitude I must find an honest answer to an honest question and that is—What have they actually done for me? Or, in other words, have they redeemed the pledge given by the announcement of the 20th of August, 1917? My friend the Hon'ble Rai Anand Sarup Bahadur has answered that question in the affirmative, or rather assumed the answer in the affirmative; but to my mind the true answer is to be found in the formidable list of modifications which are before the Council. It is there that we find the true measure of the approval or disapproval of the honourable members of this Council on the various proposals of the reforms. There can be no doubt that these modifications show a general, or, I may say, a substantial agreement on one point, and that is, that a good deal is wanting in the scheme. And I say that without those wants being supplied it is no more than a shell: the kernel really lies in the modifications which are being pressed in this Council and elsewhere.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Crawshaw has said that if you dive deep you will find gems of great value; and that the more you dive the larger the number of gems you will find. I have, according to my own knowledge, tried to dive, and to dive deep; but I have brought up nothing but disappointment. On this point, however, I must make myself clear. In so far as the principle that India will one day be a self-governing country is concerned, that is certainly established by the report itself. There is no question that sooner or later it is proposed to confer such a government upon India. But we are assembled here to-day to discuss, not the abstract principles, or even to attribute motives, to, persons placed in high authority, but to consider

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practical proposals as practical men and to make such practical suggestions as we have faith in. To say that the report is a genuine effort is to imply that it might possibly have been other than genuine—a possibility, Sir, which I discard. So I do not see how it is at all material for us to go into this question, and so far as it is a work of art and talent I have already said that it has my admiration. But the proposals which it makes, I submit, are of a halting nature. It stops just short of the very step which it says is being taken, because, when we come in the course of the debate to discuss the details, we shall find an illustration of what Your Honour very happily said the other day, namely, that reform must not be afraid of itself. That is just what we find the proposals to be, that is to say, they are afraid of themselves.

"The honourable mover about the conclusion of his speech said that this Council endorsed the general policy of the reforms. I wish that his resolution were worded in that way, for if it were so worded it would have my heartiest support, because the policy is there, and there is no question that it is a broad-minded policy of courageous statesmen. But what is wanting is the execution of that policy. There is no question that the germs of improvement are there, and that it is an appreciable advance, but it has laid down a very complicated system, which, the more you go into it the more embarrassed you feel and the less easy it is for you to extricate yourself from it.

"Let us examine generally what was the announcement of the 20th August. The announcement was that at first a substantial step shall be taken. That gave me the idea, and that would give any one the idea, that something, however little, was going to be actually parted with by Government in favour of the people. But when we come to examine what it is that has been given, we find that it is hedged in with so many limitations and reservations, so many checks and counter-checks, that it becomes a question of giving with one hand and taking away with the other. To my simple mind the easier thing would have been to say—We give you so much and will give you no more; there is an end of the matter. Whether it is more or less, whatever it is, here it is'. Then the only question would have been whether it is enough or not. But what is actually done is that a good deal of show is made, but the restrictions put upon it deprive it of all its value. The keynote of the report is distrust of the people of India and a great sense of undefined dangers ahead. The Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State in the course of the debate in the House of Commons on the Budget anticipated that objection, when he said that the limitations on the scheme were due, not to distrust or to fear, but to facts and time. Now, Sir, either the facts justify or do not justify the giving of any actual responsibility; either the time has come or it has not come for the giving of actual responsibility. If the facts justify and if the time has come, give us our due. If the time has not come and facts do not justify, then tell us so. What the scheme shows, however, is that neither the one nor the other has been done. On the contrary you will find that in certain places one could almost see that the authors begin to think that the announcement of the 20th August has gone a bit further than they would have allowed it to go if they had

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anticipated any of the difficulties. Passages are not wanting in the report to show that an attempt is made to put too literal an interpretation upon the announcement, and when we come to the action to be taken on it, there is no doubt that the spirit of the announcement is lost sight of.

"For these reasons I am sorry that I cannot support the motion. I hope I have made myself clear. What I do not support is that it is a genuine and appreciable advance in the direction of responsible government."

171. Resolution Regarding the Appointment and Tenure of Ministers, August 12, 1918.[1]

"May I suggest for the sake of convenience and in order to save time that I may be allowed to bring resolutions nos. 46 and 47 together? Your Honour will see that 46 relates to the appointment of ministers and 47 to the tenure of office of ministers. The first resolution which stands in my name namely, 46, reads as follows:-

'The Governor shall nominate a chief minister from among the elected members of the council and invite him to form a ministry consisting of himself and two or more elected members'.

The second, namely, 47, runs thus:—

"Ministers shall hold office at the will of the Legislature and their salaries shall be voted by the Council every year".

"The reason why I have asked for permisson to put these together is that I would not have been satisfied if 46 had been carried and 47 not carried. What the report says on the subject is to be found in paragraph 218, where it is proposed that there should be one or more ministers, the number of which will depend on the number of subjects to be transferred, and that these will be nominated by the Governor. They will be chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council. They will be members of the executive Government, but not members of the executive council; and they will be appointed for the life-time of the legislative council and if re-elected to that body would be re-eligible for appointment as members of the executive. Now it is true that when I say that the ministry should consist of two or more executive members besides the chief minister that claim is based upon an earlier resolution which we shall come to by and by, namely, one in which I recommend that all subjects except police, law and justice should be transferred. What I mean is this that it will all depend upon the number of subjects to be transferred. In as much as my proposal asks that the great majority of the subjects shall be transferred, that

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1918* (Allahabad, 1918), pp. 826-27 and 831-34.

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is the reason why I propose that there should be one chief minister with two or more colleagues. That I believe is the constitution everywhere there is any responsible legislature in existence. The reason why the framers of the proposal have not made the ministry reponsible to the Legislature and to their constituents is simply to make them irremovable for the term of the council. Now if they are to be at all responsible to their constituents I submit that it is necessary that the Legislature should exercise some control over them. I do not by this proposal mean that it should be open to the council to, for instance, pass a resolution dismissing the minister. What I do mean by this motion is the responsibility to the Legislature, namely, that if there is a vote of censure, or if there is any measure, of a minister which is not carried through the council; the automatic result would be that he will resign. I find that my proposal is opposed to that which stands in the name of the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh and to that of the Hon'ble Saiyid Al-i-Nabi, where they ask that the minister should be elected by the Legislature and not nominated by the Governor. If there was only one minister, I would certainly plead for them, but when it comes to the formation of a sort of cabinet, it becomes necessary for the members of the cabinet to be such as to be able to work together, and it is impossible to impose office upon one man against his will and yet expect him to work harmoniously. So that if the matter were left purely to election the result would be that there might be a cabinet of three members who might or might not agree, yet they would have to form a cabinet and that would be a practical difficulty. I will therefore ask my friends to withdraw their resolutions in favour of mine if the two 46 and 47 are carried, and I will make a similar request to the Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali, who in his resolution 33 recommends that the minister, if defeated three times in the legislative council on matters relating to transferred subjects, should go out of office, which really means that he will be responsible to the Legislature. But it is not necessary that he should be defeated three times. Sometimes it so happens that the defeat is of such a nature that it is not necessary to resign. It will all depend upon the nature of the vote passed by the Legislature. For these reasons I commend these resolutions to this Council and I submit that having regard to the other proposal made by myself and by other honourable members it will be most convenient and practical to adopt these two resolutions".

. . .

"It is no surprise to me to listen to adverse criticisms to the resolution that I moved from the quarters from which they have proceeded. To deal with the most formidable, viz, the last speaker, I have the honour to say that I dispose of all the arguments by just one sentence. The honourable member says if all the other features of the scheme are to remain as they are, then my proposals are completely out of point. I quite agree, but is it not a very big 'if' that he assumed? Would it not be well for the honourable member to look at my other proposals, of which this is a part, which I have attempted to suggest in place of the scheme. I refer to the other proposals not to commend them at present, but just to show that what I am proposing in resolutions 46 and 47 is only part of

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a bigger scheme which does not admit of the existing scheme which has been recommended. If the honourable member will read resolution no. 48 along with nos. 46 and 47 my scheme will be perfectly clear. No. 48 says:— 'All administrative questions concerning transferred subjects shall be decided by the vote of the majority of ministers present'. It is not for me at present to defend all the various proposals that I have made. I defend the consistency of my position by saying that, if these are all adopted by the Council, the scheme that I propose would not only be thoroughly workable, but is a scheme which prevails all over the world. True it is, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has pointed out, that I am assuming full responsible government in the transferred subjects. So I am, and so indeed I would expect things to be when the final Bill is presented to the Parliament; and in case it is not so I do not accept a a single item of the scheme. As I have submitted, I am not only committed to the Congress-League scheme until it is altered by that body, but standing in the Council chamber to-day I have a mandate to follow and that mandate was given yesterday by the Provincial Conference which was held in this city, to which the Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra has referred, and that body has passed the resolution as a whole.

"Another objection taken is that the Governor along with the executive councillors and the ministers is intended by this scheme to form one single Government and not two Governments. I submit that, so far as that goes, the suggestion I make does not introduce any inconsistency, because it is open for the Governor to preside at the meetings of the ministers or the whole or both. But the most important alteration I propose is that the Governor shall be bound by the opinion of the majority of the ministers, while under the proposals, as framed by the authors, he is not bound. This makes all the difference. Then it is said that under the circumstances responsibility to the electorate is secured. What is meant by responsibility to the electorate as given in the scheme? It simply means that for the first time the minister has nothing to fear from the electorate, because, at any rate, he is secure in his office for the whole life of the Council, and it is only when he thinks of re-election for the next Council that he need at all care for the electorate. I must admit that when I read that he is not responsible to the Legislature, but he is responsible to the electorate, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could understand it. After all I understood it as the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has understood it. It resolves itself into this. When a minister chosen by the Governor, acting with the Governor, having no interest in the electorate unless of course he wants to stand for another election at the end of his term, owes his appointment only to the Governor and the Council, I submit that those conditions are most highly demoralizing for any person who is appointed as a minister, so far as his accountability to the electorate is concerned. The only thing that the electorate can do to punish him is by not electing him for the next term. What I am pleading for is, if I may take the liberty to say so, the very A,B,C, of the constitution of responsible government. No doubt it will be said that you are not getting full responsibility and therefore something has to be devised. I agree to it, I say

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whatever you give us make it as full as you can, and in that sense, as I submitted in another connection, I would vastly prefer the suggestions made in the Curtis scheme.

"Then the next point is that there is no party system at present. As to that my submission is that it is the hope of the framers of this proposal that there would be a party system in India at one time or another, and certainly you must have responsible government for some time before. In the ordinary course we could evolve any party, but I do not anticipate any difficulty of the kind which has been brought by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani. He says, suppose our ministers go out of office by an adverse vote, what happens next? Whom are you going to appoint in their place? There is no opposite party which will come into power. The simple answer to that is, I want my chief minister to be a person who commands the confidence of the house. If one man loses the confidence of the house and goes out of office, is it not easy to conceive that there would be other men who would command the confidence of the house, even though the party system may not be fully developed? This happens everyday where this system prevails.

"My honourable friend says that if my proposal is accepted two budgets will be necessary. I have already read my proposal. What I propose is that there shall be a single budget. But in the first place there shall be an allocation for the Government of India and an allocation for the reserved subjects on certain basis which I suggest. That done, the whole of the remainder is at the disposal of the ministers. What I am proposing is not so absurd as has been made out by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani. It is a good sound proposition which I proposed in the other resolution, viz., that the budget shall be single one, that, after the setting apart of the share of the Government of India and what is to be spent on the reserved subjects, the rest is put at the unrestricted disposal of the minister.

"My friend has also referred to the system of dyarchy or dual system of government, and that is the reason why I am not in a position to swear by the scheme which has been adumbrated in this report. I am making in my proposals a suggestion on a scheme, which is admitted by its own authors to be defective of a few modifications, which are offered to minimize the difficulties or defects of the scheme. The only plea that has been advanced and that has been admitted by the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani is that the system which is being proposed in the report is not a system which is a recognized system, but it is a system which is devised under peculiar circumstances, and being for a transitional period it must be open to those defects. I admit it, and I say that when my proposals are embodied in that defective scheme the result will be to minimize the defects, though not to remove them. I cannot claim to perform the impossible. I know that the system is defective, perhaps I may remove some of the defects, but not all.

"My friend the Hon'ble Mirza Sami-ullah Beg says that there is just one reason why we should not have a cabinet system in these provinces, and the reason advanced is that it is in vogue in other parts of the world. Now he says we are making a new beginning and we must not attempt to

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copy all other councils and institutions. I am not copying any institution. I am not asking anything to be bodily drafted from some known system into this system. I am only asking for the very elementary learning relating to responsible government. The one principle that has been admitted by the framers is that you have to be responsible to the electorates. That responsibility I say you definitely postpone for a term of three years.

"The Hon'ble Mirza Sami-ullah Beg said that this resolution will go against another resolution of mine which has been accepted by the Council, with reference to the emoluments of the ministers. I am afraid that my learned friend has not understood what I meant. It is not a question of salary being reduced. It really means not the cutting down of the salary of the minister, but that the house has no confidence in him. It is not that the poor minister takes a reduced salary, but he simply resigns and no further.

"The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan has drawn an analogy between the ministers I have in contemplation and those who are under the municipal board. I submit that this is a very far-fetched analogy. If having regard to the peculiar circumstances we recommended certain restrictions, or rather a certain safety and security, in the tenure of the office of the chairman of the municipal board, the same reasons will not apply when there is a question of liability to the electorates at every step. Then the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan thinks that he scored a great point by pointing out that I ask for a removable ministry, whereas in the scheme framed by me the executive is not a removable one. Here again I will ask my friend to look at the different conditions. The scheme by which the executive is asked to be removable is a very different scheme from what we are discussing here to-day. We are going to be given by driblets. I say, whatever driblets we are going to have, let us have the whole at one. It is perfectly certain that if you have a full responsible government the executive must remain irremovable, but how long irremovable? If my honourable friend goes deeper into that scheme he will find that there are provisions in that scheme also which show that after a time the executive may resist the will of the Legislature once or twice, but it cannot possibly resist it for the third time. However, it is not for me to suggest any other scheme or to attack any part of this scheme which I have moved. But I say that none of the objections that have been raised by the gentlemen whom I have already dealt with will really affect the position I have taken.

"Then I come to the remarks made by the Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. I thought he would accept the defeat which he received yesterday with a good grace, but my friend has reiterated the same reasons again and his great complaint is that you cannot in the very first life of the Council get any one prepared to accept office under such precarious circumstances as to be at the mercy of an inexperienced Council. In the first place I have no such lack of faith in the capacity of my countrymen and in the capacity of those who will enter public life and seek election at the polls. In the next place, I submit that would be one of the reasons for all responsible men to induce them not to exercise the powers vested

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in them except with the very greatest caution, and if they do exercise those powers without necessary care and caution, what would be the result? Well, there may be mistakes. But have not the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and the Viceroy themselves admitted that political capacity can only come by the exercise of political responsibility, and in the course of the speech on the occasion of the budget debate in the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain said: 'Progress in India must be through gradual steps. All this wisdom, all this sagacity, all this experience in matters political by whatever country is only to be gained by mistakes, and if there will be mistakes, as they are bound to be, you must be prepared. As you learned by your mistakes, so allow them to learn by theirs'. It is said that you must learn to stand before you walk. I submit that we cannot learn to walk unless you give us the opportunity to exercise the function. If we keep lying down all the time, then good-bye to all benefits of exercise. I do admit that there will be difficulties in the beginning. There have been difficulties in all countries, in all ages when such experiments have been tried. This is not the first time and this is not the first country in which reforms of this nature have been introduced. So far as Canada is concerned, we heard yesterday in the remarkable speech of the President that it was granted at a time when even the teachers in the school knew not reading or writing; when the French and the English Canadians could not meet together and talk out on any subject amicably; then their commerce and trade was going to rack and ruin. They must have made blunders; they must have muddled; they must have committed mistakes, and we only ask that if we do the same please do not condemn us. For these reasons I press the resolution for the acceptance of the Council."

172. Resolution Regarding Governor's Relationship with Ministers, August 12, 1918.[1]

"I am sorry I have to oppose this resolution, but not for reasons which the last speaker put forward. It seems to me that in the discussions on resolutions in this Council to-day it is all a case of confidence in officials versus confidence in the people. Some members have a leaning towards the people while others—including my honourable friend Rai Tara Dat Gairola—seem to have an insuperable leaning towards the officials and would on no account place an undue measure of trust in the people. It seems to me that if the scheme to give us responsible government is to be run on practical lines, we will have to put some measure of trust in the

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations* (Allahabad, 1918), p. 841-42.

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in the capacity of the people. What I say is—try to have confidence in a system which you yourself are advocating, try to have confidence in yourself, try to have confidence in what you say, and then you will at once feel that what you are saying is an argument against the ultimate establishment of self-government. If we are to go on like this, I do not know when it will be that we will ever reach the goal. The reason why I oppose this resolution is that I am against the very principal of this wonderful document—the instrument of instructions. My idea is that to a Governor and to the ministers and to executive the instrument of instructions is the legislative assembly: it is not for any higher power to send instructions. We have heard of a certain document of instructions which used to be issued to civilians who landed in India. I do not know whether this is still the custom, but we have heard of such a thing, and I do hope that it will not be a repetition of the same kind of instructions when the Governor comes. One thing is certain, that under the Reforms Scheme the most wonderful thing is that we begin our constitution with an unconstitutional Governor. It is said here, we do not want to give a constitutional Governor from the beginning because, constitutionally, the Governor would have to be bound by the opinion of his ministers and councillors, and so we begin our constitution with something which is not known to any constitution. I do not know whether this is to be a public or private instrument of instructions. I would advise my honourable friend to have nothing to do whatever with this instrument of instructions. Let us stand upon our rights—whether this should be given to us or not is a matter which concerns us. I will ask for what I think I am entitled to. If it is not given to me, I will not ask for something less which is not adequate and thus make a sort of arrangement, and call it the first substantial step in self-government. Either give me what I have asked for or nothing at all."

. . .

"What I say is that the instrument which my honourable friend wants to improve should be abolished altogether—should not be issued at all."

173. Resolution Regarding Reserved and Transferred Subjects, August 13, 1918.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the following resolution:—

"That this Council requests His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that he will be pleased to recommend to His Excellency the Viceroy and through him to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India that the following changes in the proposed constitutional reforms are essential as

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations* (Allahabad, 1918), pp. 888-90.

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the first substantial step to be taken in these provinces towards the establishment of full responsible government:—

"That the transferred subjects shall embrace all departments except police, law and justice, a complete separation of the executive from the judicial functions having previously been effected."

. . .

"The honourable member who opened the debate on this group of subjects—I mean the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani—said in the course of his speech that his resolution embodies practically all that I have to say in general terms, except land revenue. I prefer to put this resolution in a general form, i.e., instead of specifying the subjects that are to be transferred, I wish to specify the subjects that are to be reserved. The only question is about land revenue.

"Various honourable members have spoken and they have laid down various principles on which the transfer of these subjects will be effected. The principle to which I adhere is, I have already stated, the principle which does not admit of any transferred or reserved subjects at all. I am glad to hear that the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, if he were left alone and if he had not the weight of this report upon him would be of the same opinion. But he yields to the superior wisdom of the illustrious authors of the report. Now, so far as this matter goes, I prefer not to be weighed down by the opinion of anybody. I claim the right for my own opinion and I claim to adhere to it so long as I am not convinced that it is wrong. The principle which the distinguished authors of the reform have laid down for local bodies, I think, is the principle which on their hypothesis should govern the provincial Governments. That principle for local bodies is laid down in paragraph 188 of the report and is printed as the first main basic principle upon which the report proceeds. 'There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control.' I say that is a principle which should be applied in determining which are the transferred and which the reserved subjects. Now, applying that rule, we have to see what catastrophe will befall the Empire if every subject, other than law and justice, is transferred, so long as the Government of India retains the control of the Army and Navy, foreign relations, relations with Indian princes, and each provincial Government has full control of all the agencies except law and order. If that is done, I say, how can any harm befall the Executive Government if every other subject is transferred? How will the stability of the Government, even if the whole thing is mismanaged by the popular side of the Government, be affected as to the reserved side?

"It is said that revenue is an important subject and we must have special training of the special electorates before revenue is transferred. I submit that, so far as moral training is concerned, I do not think there is much to choose between one subject and the other. The fact is that for over a century we had no education in administration at all, except in such branches of the service in which Indians are appointed. What I mean is that there is no public man in this country at present who has any

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experience of the administration of the country. That being so, the argument which is used in the case of land revenue applies equally to the other branches of administration, and if it does, then it goes to the very root of the idea of transferred subjects.

"The Hon'ble Mirza Sami-ullah Beg seems to think that there must be an electorate of tenants before we ask for the administration of revenue to the popular side of the Government. I really have not been able to follow him as to what he means by saying that an electorate of tenants is necessary for the administration of land revenue and that it is not necessary for other purposes. The vast majority of the Indian population consists of agriculturists, and it is they who will be mainly affected by the administration of the various branches of Government. No one can deny that it is the rural population which must first be instructed in the art of voting; to know what it means to give a vote to such a person and what to expect from him. That will come gradually and no one who wishes all the departments to be transferred, pretends to say that the electorates are to have any sort of perfection. The whole question is, is it possible at the present time with the present material to form such a workable electorate which will in course of time improve? If it is reasonable to withhold this subject or that, the result will be that it will apply to all subjects. Then there are the interests of the zamindars and landholders. I think my honourable friend meant that when there will be an electorate the zamindars will be the most powerful section of the population so far as election to the council is concerned, because it is they who have the command of the tenant's vote. If that is so, the tenant, when he has learnt the proper value of his vote, will have great influence. Then we have just heard that the zamindars want special electorates in the council. By special representation they do not expect to be so overwhelmingly represented in the council as to weigh down the interests of the remaining part of the council.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has said that the resolutions that have been moved at the various sessions of the Indian National Congress are calculated to inspire a feeling of suspicion as to what these people will do when this resolution is passed and when administration of revenue is handed over to them. I am not aware of any particular resolution which the Congress has passed which goes against the interests of either the zamindars or tenants. No doubt, as the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has said, they have a tendency to reduce the gross receipts from the land revenue, because they speak of reduction everywhere. For all these reasons I think there can be no valid reason for withholding anything. Of course if you say, as some honourable members have said, that there will be chaos by the transfer of particular subjects to the transferred list you have to make it up, but your principle should be that every subject except law and order should be transferred.

"Now there is another point. I think everyone will consent to police, law and justice being reserved subjects only on condition that there is a complete separation between executive and judicial functions. Your Honour is aware that this subject was taken up in the Viceroy's Council,

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and I am not going to take up the time of the Council by going into the history of the case. It was decided that in certain areas the experiment should be tried. I do not think any reasonable man will defend the union of these two functions. It is, I think, accepted that it does not make for the efficient administration of justice. That being so, I submit that unless we are assured of a complete separation of these two functions I for one would certainly not be a consenting party to police, law and order being reserved subjects. When I say this, I am sure I am voicing the feeling of the public".

174. Resolution on Police, Law and Justice, August 13, 1918.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the following resolution:—

"That a period of times not exceeding 10 years be fixed by statute within which the departments of police, law and justice shall also be transferred".

. . .

"In moving this resolution the principle that I contend for is that a time limit should be fixed by statute and that it should not be left to any committees which may be formed hereafter to determine as to whether the hour is not fit for the transfer of such subjects as were reserved at the beginning. I have fixed the time to 10 years because I believe that 10 years is sufficiently long period. But my object will be gained even if 10 years is eliminated and a definite period is fixed by statute. The reasons for that have been so ably and fully advanced and given in the various representations which were made at the time and in the criticisms which have since appeared, that I need not take the time of the Council by elaborating them. The whole object of this is to secure full responsible government within a reasonable period, that is to say, it translates the general words of the announcement of the 20th August last into a specified and complete period, within which it is expected that the people of this province should have full popular government. I do not think it is necessary for me at the present stage to say more".

[1] *Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1918* (Allahabad, 1918), p. 895.

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175. Resolution Regarding Transferred Subjects, August 13, 1918.[1]

The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the following resolution:—

"All administrative questions concerning transferred subjects shall be decided by the vote of the majority of ministers present".

. . .

"My motion yesterday for the formation of a ministry on constitutional lines was rejected, and this of course was part of the whole scheme. On considering the matter I find that after the rejection of the motion yesterday there is all the more reason why this resolution should be accepted by the Council. The reason is that the authors of the proposals laid down two postulates in paragraph 215. They say that complete responsibility for the Government cannot be given immediately without inviting a breakdown, and secondly, that some responsibility must be given at once if our scheme is to have any value. Now by the words 'some responsibility must be given', I understood some real responsibility, and I fail to see how any real responsibility is conferred upon a minister who is in charge of transferred department if he is to be set aside by the Governor. Under the circumstances and after the resolutions that have been adopted by this Council the minister will be a person who would not only be elected at the polls but who would also be selected by the Governor-in-Council. Now in a large assembly which consists of 100 or 125 members it is to be expected that there will be at least one or two who would be in the confidence of the Government; at least on whose judgement the Governor will be in a position to rely. If that is so, there does not seem any reason why a man who enjoys a double qualification of being selected by the people and also by the Governor should also be allowed a measure of independence. But what are the powers that are reposed in him? In paragraph 219 it is said that 'the portfolios dealing with the transferred subjects would be committed to the ministers, and on these subjects the ministers together with the Governor would form the administration. On such subjects their decisions, would be final, subject only to the Governor's advice and control'. That would mean merely restriction, but then it is explained 'we do not contemplate that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor who is bound to accept the decisions of his ministers. Our hope and intention is that the ministers will gladly avail themselves of the Governor's trained advice upon administrative questions, while on his part he will be willing to meet their wishes to the furthest possible extent in cases where he realizes that they have the support of popular opinion'. I ask what are the materials before the Governor which will enable him to realize whether a minister has or has not the support of popular opinion of a particular measure. Surely there is no criticizing him. He is supposed to represent at least the views of his constituents, and he has also been selected by the

[1]*Proceedings of the Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws & Regulations, 1918* (Allahabad, 1918), pp. 904-08.

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Governor. Then it goes on to say 'we reserve to him a power of control, because we regard him as generally responsible for his administration'. Now one person is generally responsible to the administration and another is especially responsible, I fail to see what is the proportion of responsibility. Then it says 'but we should expect him to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequences of acquiescence would clearly be serious. Also we do not think that he should accept without hesitation and discussion proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience'. That is to say, a minister who is supposed to be responsible and who is made responsible to the electorate is to be told at every turn of the Governor that he is a bad boy, he has not learnt his lesson, he should go back to school again. 'But we do not intend that he should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to all his ministers' proposals. Whether a certain proposal of the minister is the result of inexperience or not he must judge according to his own discretion. Then I will read one more sentence in paragraph 222 where the contrast becomes very clear. So far you have seen that a minister is really a person whose advice, whose proposals have been set aside for the slightest of reasons. When we come to paragraph 222 it is said: 'By entrusting the transferred portfolios to the ministers, we have limited responsibility to the Indian electorate to those subjects in which, we desire to give responsibility first. We have done this without now, or at any time, depriving the Indian element in the Government of responsibility for the reserved subjects.' Now I ask what is the responsibility for the reserved subjects. The authors say they do not intend either now, or at any time in the future, to deprive the Indian element of the responsibility. Then at the end of the same paragraph it is said 'ministers should feel responsibility for conforming to the wishes of their constituents'. I fail to see any force of argument. First comes the absolute control of the Governor. The minister is to be set aside if he has not the support of popular opinion, or the Governor thinks clearly the man has no experience. He is held responsible to the electorate, and it is said that it never is or was our intention to deprive the Indian element of responsibility in regard to the subjects which are actually reserved; and lastly we hold the minister responsible to his constituents for conforming to their wishes. It comes to this that the act practically would be the act of the executive, which has set aside proposals of the minister, but the responsibility would be of the unfortunate minister. My proposal simply is this, either trust the ministers or tell us plainly you are simply establishing a school and there you want us to learn lessons for a certain examination, if we pass then we will get some responsibility, if we do not pass the examination we will have to put in another term.

"Then in paragraph 260 we come to the glorious end of the unfortunate minister. After five years what happens? 'If it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them with the sanction of the Secretary of State to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions

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for the future on the ministers' powers in respect of certain transferred subjects'. The man may have tried his best to carry out his proposals, he may have been prevented from adopting it on account of the reservations and the result has been bad administration, and when the five years review comes out goes the minister who was not at all responsible for any of his acts. For these reasons I submit that now, as my proposal about the constitution of a ministry is rejected, that is all the more reason that some show of real responsibility should be maintained and this resolution should be accepted by the Council".

. . .

"As I have more than once explained, I deal with principles and I have the details to the people who have more time than I have at my disposal. The principle that I advocate is that there should be responsibility in the ministers and that if they by their number over ride the opinion of the minority, which may consist of the Governor and one of the ministers, their opinion should prevail. Rules will have to be framed. It is for us to indicate the principles. We are not going into details.

"The whole point is whether these ministers are to have their rights to form their own judgments, act upon them and then to be responsible, or they have to submit their proposals to the Governor like a school boy, and if the Governor says 'No, it must be like this' then that policy is put into action and in the last stage the responsibility lies on the minister. That, I submit, is wholly fallacious and unreasonable".

"Having regard to the fate of my resolution[1] which has just been discussed and in order to save the time of the Council I wish to withdraw the other resolutions standing in my name."

These were the following:—

"No head of department who is not a member of the council shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of a standing committee".

[1]The motion was put and the Council divided as below:—

AYES (6)	NOES (7)
The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru.	The Hon'ble Maharaja of Balrampur.
The Hon'ble Mirza Sami-ullah Beg.	Rai Tara Dat Gairola Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Mr. Crawshaw.	The Hon'ble Mr. Ward.[3]
The Hon'ble Lala Madhusudan Dayal.	The Hon'ble Mr. Smith.[4]
The Hon'ble Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana.[2]	The Hon'ble Shankar Sahai Sahib.
The Hon'ble Saiyid Raza Ali.	The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani.
	The Hon'ble Pandit Radha Kishan Das.

The motion was accordingly rejected.

[2]Narayan Prasad Asthana, b. 1874; elected Member, Municipal Board Agra, 1902; Vice-Chairman, 1913; Member, Provincial Legislative Council, 1916-23; Member, Council of State, 1927-30; appointed Vice-Chancellor, Agra University, 1929; Advocate General, U.P., 1937.

[3]Arthur William Ward, b. 1858; Professor of Physics, Canning College, Lucknow, 1889; Member of Senate, Banaras Hindu University, 1916.

[4]James Cowlishaw Smith, served in North-West Provinces and Oudh in various official positions; Joint Magistrate, 1905; Deputy Commissioner, 1913; C.I.E., 1921; Member, Board of Revenue, 1928; Member, Governor's Executive Council, U.P., 1930 31.

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"The power to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list shall vest solely in Parliament.

"A non-official Bill, amendment, or clause which is certified by the Governor as involving a serious interference with his effective administration of the reserved departments shall not pass into law unless it is supported by two-thirds of the whole council".

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CHRONOLOGY

1861	Born in Agra. (May 6)
1873	Studied Arabic and Persian under Qazi Sadruddin till the age 12, at Khetri where his brother Nandlal was Dewan.
[1873]	Joined Government High School, Kanpur, where his brother Bansi Dhar was posted and matriculated in the first division.
[1879-1882]	Studied at Muir Central College, Allahabad.
1882	Married Swarup Rani.
1883	Topped the list of successful candidates in the Vakil's examination and began practising law at Kanpur under Pandit Prithinath Chak.
1886	After completing three years apprenticeship, moved to Allahabad to practise as a junior to his brother Nandlal.
1887	Nandlal's death. Motilal assumed responsibility of the entire household including his brother's family. (April)
1888	Attended Allahabad session of the Indian National Congress as a delegate.
1889	Birth of Jawaharlal. (November 14) Elected to the Subjects Committee, Indian National Congress, Bombay. (December)
1891	Elected member of the Subject Committee at the Congress Session, Nagpur.
1892	Secretary, Reception Committee of the Congress held at Allahabad under the Presidentship of W.C. Bonnerji.
1894	Took up Lakhna estate case.
1896	Admitted to the roll of advocates of Allahabad High Court by Chief Justice Sir John Edge.

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1899	Sailed for Europe to canvass support for Raja Ajit Singh of Khetri in his dispute with the Jaipur State. (August) On return to Allahabad, refused to perform purification ceremony. (November)
1900	Birth of Vijayalakshmi (Pandit). (August 18) Moved from 9 Elgin Road to 1 Church Road and named the house "Anand Bhawan". Visited Europe.
1905	Sailed from Bombay in the S.S. Macedonia along with Swarup Rani, Jawaharlal and Vijayalakshmi. (May 13) Reached London. (May 31) Arrived at Brussels. (July 25) Cologne. (July 29) Visited Homberg, Elms, Berlin, Freiburg. (August-September) Paris. (September 23) London. (September 24) Returned to Allahabad. (November 4) Attended the Indian National Congress session at Benares, presided over by G.K. Gokhale. (December)
1906	Attended the Congress session at Calcutta. (December)
1907	Elected President of the U.P. Provincial Conference. (January) Welcomed G.K. Gokhale on his visit to Allahabad. (February) Met the new Lieut.-Governor John Hewett. (February) Presided over the First U.P. Provincial Conference, Allahabad. (March 29) Attacked Morley-Minto reforms. (August) Daughter, Krishna (Hutheesing) was born. (November 2) Welcomed the release of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. (November) Attended the Surat Session of the Congress where the split between the Moderates and Extremists took place. (December)
1909	Presided over the Third U.P. Social Conference. (April) Visited Europe. (July) Received permission to appear and plead at the

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bar of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain. (August)
"The Leader" was launched, Motilal becoming the first Chairman of the Board of Directors of the newspaper. (October)
Elected Member, U.P. Legislative Council and remained a member till 1919. (December)

1910 Sworn in as a member of U.P. Legislative Council. (February 10)
Speech on the Budget Proposals for 1910-11. (April 25)
Presided over the opening ceremony of a Swadeshi Bank. (April 28)
Vote of thanks to William Wedderburn proposed by Motilal as the Vice-Chairman, Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress. (December)

1911 Speech on the resolution on teaching of Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. (November 23)
Attended the Delhi Durbar. (December 12)

1912 Attended the opening ceremony of Lucknow Medical College by Lieut. Governor John Hewett. (January 25)
Attended the Bankipore Congress along with Jawaharlal. (December)

1913 Seconded the resolution regarding the establishment of a Library for the use of the Council members. (March 13)
Speech on the additional primary schools. (March 13)
Moved a resolution for the enhancement of financial grants to educational institutions for women. (March 14)
Gave evidence before the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. (April 4)
Speech on the prevention of minor boys and girls becoming beggers or sadhus. (September 15)
Speech on the resolution advocating additional seats in the Council for the representatives of the landed interest. (December 2)

1914 Speech on the resolution expressing loyalty and devotion to the British Empire. (March 14)
Elected member of the Allahabad Municipal Board.
Became a member of the U.P. Publicity Bureau and helped the Government in organizing the Indian Defence Force in his province.

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1915	Speech on the resolution regarding amendment in Education Code. Expressed his views on the Budget. (April 6) Speech on the United Provinces Municipalities Bill, 1915. (July 19) Speech on the resolution for training of Munsifs. (October 5) Speech regarding amendments of constitution of U.P. Legislative Council. (December 18)
1916	Motilal was criticized by the Hindu press and politicians in the U.P. for taking an independent line on what was known as the Jehangirabad Amendment to the Municipal Bill, alleged to be a surrender to the Muslims. His unity bid among Hindus and Muslims, on the political goals for India. Speech on the question of religious instruction in schools. Speech on the Agra Pre-Emption Bill.
1917	Speech on the Oudh Courts Amendment Bill. (January 29) Speech on the resolution regarding the appointment of non-official Chairman of District Boards. (January 29) Expressed his views on the revised financial statement. (March 13) Speech on the United Provinces Medical Bill. (April 2) Speech on the Oudh Settled Estates Bill. (April 2) Moved a resolution to ascertain Indian non-official opinion on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. (April 3) Presided over a public meeting in Allahabad. (June 22) Elected President, Allahabad branch of the Home Rule League. (June 23) Presided over the Special Provincial Conference, U.P. (August 10) Speech on the resolution on Thomason Engineering College, Roorkee. (October 1 and 2) Had an interview with Samuel Montagu in Delhi along with T.B. Sapru and G.N. Misra. (November 27)
1918	Speech on the death of Pandit Sundarlal. (March 12) Speech on the resolution regarding the appointment of a Governor-in-Council for U.P. (April 9)

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Opposed a resolution welcoming the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. (August 12)

Moved a resolution recommending transfer of all the departments except those of the police, law and justice to the ministers. (August 13)

Presided over a political conference at Lucknow, where his moderate friends declared themselves in favour of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. (August)

Attended the special session of the Indian National Congress, Bombay, and parted company with his moderate friends on constitutional issues. (August)

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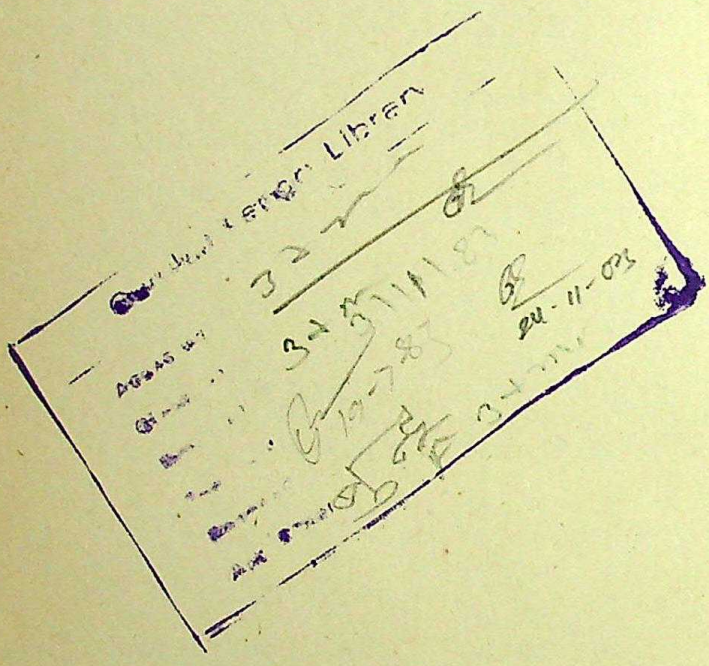

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